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FEUDAL TERMINOLOGY IN MEDIÆVAL RELIGIOUS POETRY

IN the *Chanson de Roland*, when Roland feels death coming upon him after the slaughter in the pass, he hastens to a retired spot under a pine, lies down upon the turf, and, his head turned toward the "paiene gent," prepares to meet his end as a worthy paladin should. The account continues:

"Claimet sa colpe et menut et sovent
Por sus pechiez Deu porofrit le guant.
Son destre guant en at vers Deu tendut;
Son destre guant a Deu en porofrit,
Sainz Gabriel de sa main li at pris,
Desor son braz teneit le chief enclin,
Jointes ses mains est alez a sa fin."

Gaston Paris in commenting upon this passage remarks that nothing is more characteristic of the age than the very feudal act of Roland in proffering his glove to him whom he considers to be his spiritual overlord. Paris, however, makes no further contribution on this score. It is the purpose of this discussion to show by a list of selected examples how firmly this feudal concept of the relation between man and the persons of the Trinity and the heavenly hierarchies became established among the religious poets of the middle ages. The bearing of this paper is largely upon the Romance poetry, but the same tendency to express relations of service by the faithful in the conventional terms of feudal relationship existed also

in Anglo-Saxon and Middle-English religious verse, and accordingly some reference has been made to that side.¹

By a very natural extension of the use of these terms, the same relations may be observed quite as frequently to exist between the dwellers in Hell, or between Satan and the erring Christian. Thus in the Spanish *Auto de Sanct Christobal*, allegiance is pledged to Satan:

Yo deseote servir
y tenerte por señor.²

The clasping of the hands and placing them between the hands of the overlord was a part of the regular ceremonial by which the vassal rendered homage and acknowledged submission, the two hands doubtless signifying the submission of the whole person. In the *Chanson de Roland* (696), Ganelon, in reporting to Charlemagne the submission of the King of Spain, concludes as follows:

Jointes ses mains iert vostre comandez,
De vos tendrat Espagne le regnét.

The same formula appears very frequently in purely religious verse, and generally with a sufficiently obvious comprehension of its technical significance. In an interesting passage of the *Miracle de Théophile*, Saladin, the familiar of the devil ("qui parlait au deable quant il voloit") appears to the despairing priest and tempts him with the prospect of wealth and power in exchange for fealty sworn to the devil his master:

Voudriez-vous Dieu renoier,
Celui qui tant solez proïer,
Toz ses sainz et toutes ses saintes?
Et si devenissiez mains jointes,
Hom a celui qui ce feroit
Qui vostre honor vous renderoit.³

Later, through the good offices of the familiar Saladin, Théophile

¹ F. Tupper, Jr., *Hand ofer heafod*. *Jour. Eng. and Germ. Phil.*, XI, 97. A note on its appearance as a part of the Old English ceremony of *mannraeden* or *hominaticum*.

² Rouanet, *Colección de Autos*, Madrid, 1901, I, 457.

³ Monmerqué et Michel, *Théât. fran. au moyen-âge*, Paris, 1842, p. 141.

holds converse with the Devil, who commands him to make the conventional gesture of fealty before his prayer can be granted:

Li Déables. Requiers m'en-tu?

Théophiles. Oil.

Li Déables. Or joing
tes mains, et si devien mes hom.
Je t'aiderai outre reson.

Théophiles. Vez ci que je vous faz hommage;
Mès que r'aie mon damage,
Biaus sire, dès or en avant.⁴

Subsequently, Théophile announces the conclusion of the bargain for his soul by the passing of the charter by which, under the feudal law, special privileges or property grants might be conveyed to the "homagère," either by the sovereign or the mesne lord:

De moi a pris la chartre et le brief recéu,
Maufez, se li rendrai de m'ame le tréu.⁵

Théophile quickly repents of his bargain:

Je n'os Dieu reclaimer ne ses sainz ne ses saintes,
Las! Que j'ai fet hommage au déable, mains jointes.⁶

In the same manner and with the same formula, the angels are accustomed to pay their homage to the Saviour:

A jointes mains
Je t'aore icy humblement.⁷

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 149. In this connection, it is interesting to compare also the English poems, the *Charters of Christ*, of which several versions exist, in which Christ conveys to the faithful "a chartre of feofment" granting them eternal life in Heaven on condition that they render tribute of love. Miss M. C. Spalding has edited these poems (Bryn Mawr, 1914), but avoids pronouncing upon their origin, though she registers her dissent from the opinion that they are connected with the Testament of Christ poems. It is very evident from their character that they are not, since they represent a charter in regular feudal form with witnesses and all. They appear rather to be the same conceit under discussion in this paper elaborated into a complete poem. In a French poem Beelzebub appeals despairingly to his devils when Jesus calls at the gates of Hell: "Seigneurs chartriers, et que feray?" Jubinal, *Myst. inédits du XV^e siècle*, P., 1837, II, 294.

⁶ Monmerqué et Michel, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

⁷ P. Le Verdier, *Myst. de l'Incarnation et Nativité*, Rouen, 1885, II, 248.

The foolish shepherd likewise makes use of the same formula in worshipping the Christ Child:

Je t'aore icy a jointtes mains.⁸

A similar use of the expression occurs in the Prologue (l. 30) of the *Jugement de Dieu*:

Mais pour ce que tout notre bien
de Dieu avons, dou vient tout bien,
au nom de noz hystoriens
le priérons a jointtes mains.⁹

In a fourteenth century mystery of the Judgement Day, we find the same formula employed in expressing submission to the lordship of Antichrist:

Tuit a jointes mains vous prions.¹⁰

The phrase also occurs in Provençal religious poetry. Thus Peter to the Concubines in a fifteenth century mystery:

En genolha-vous, jongé las mans
Et de gracio saré habundans.¹¹

The formula is often used in connection with more or less conventional phrases indicating the suppliant attitude of the petitioner, on his knees and with bowed head, as in the passage quoted at the outset from the *Chanson de Roland*. Thus in a prayer of Folquet de Marseille:

Veray Dieu, dressa tas aurelhas
Enten mos clams e mas querelhas;
Aissi t mourai tenson e guerra
De ginolhas, lo cap vas terra
La mas jointas e l cap encli,
Tan tro t prenda merce de mi.¹²

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 369.

⁹ Carnahan, *Prologue in Old Fr. and Prov. Mystery*, New Haven, 1905, p. 120.

¹⁰ *Misterre du Jour du Jugement*, ed. E. Roy, Paris, 1901, p. 231.

¹¹ *Istoria Petri et Pauli, myst. prov. du XV siècle*, ed. P. Guillaume, Paris, 1887, p. 67.

¹² A. Bayle, *Anthologie prov.*, Aix, 1879, p. 146. Cf. also the Prov. *Vie de Seint Auban*, l. 328: St. Alban a genoilhuns . . ./a jointes mains.

A somewhat elaborated form is found in a Spanish Saint's Legend. At the death of Saint Oria:

Alzó ambas las manos, puntólas en igual,
Commo qui riende graçias al buen Rey espiritual.¹³

The *hominaticum* itself is of very frequent mention. Théophile in Rutebeuf's thirteenth century *Miracle* hastens to pay homage in return for the Satanic favors:

Et dist qu'il li feroit mult volontiers homage
Se rendre li pooit s'honor et son damage.
Et lors me fist homage, si rot sa seignorie.¹⁴

In the charming *Miracle* of the Tumbler of Notre-Dame, the tumbler renders to the Virgin the only tribute of service and homage that he knows well how to pay, the best of his acrobatic feats:

Cele vie mena granment,
C'a cascade ore outrement
Aloit rendre devant l'image
Et son servise et son homage.¹⁵

Antichrist in the Judgement Day Mystery cited demands homage from his worshippers, and in response the misguided hasten to assure him of their readiness to express their allegiance.¹⁶ In the same formula, Raphael, in the *Misterre du Vieil Testament*, pays his devoir to God, and in the same mystery Eve stands ready to render salutation and homage.¹⁷ In Arnoul Gresban's great *Mistere de la Passion*, God the Father exhorts his faithful servitors to pay homage also to Christ.¹⁸ Honor frequently appears alliteratively in the phrase. Thus in an English poem:

To do homage and honor to almyghty god.¹⁹

¹³ De Berceo, *Vida de St. Oria*, 177, *Poetas cast. ant. al siglo XV*, 1864, p. 143.

¹⁴ K. Bartsch, *Chrest. de l'Anc. Fran.*, Leip., 1866, p. 338. Cf. also *Ave Maria*, 47, Rutebeuf, *Oeuvres*, ed. Jubinal, Paris, 1874.

¹⁵ W. Foerster, *Del Tumbor Nostre Dame*, Rom., II, 320.

¹⁶ Ed. Roy, pp. 227, 232, 237.

¹⁷ Ed. Rothschild, Paris, 1878, I, 5, 35.

¹⁸ Ed. Paris et Raynaud, Paris, 1878, I, 33207 sq.

¹⁹ *Pilgr. Perf.*, *W de W.* 1531, 25b.

Even the Virgin Mary in a prayer to the Creator admits her obligation to render homage:

faisant devotement
A ta haultesse honneur et vray hommaige.²⁰

The devils likewise rest under the obligation to pay homage to Lucifer, their overlord. Thus in Gresban's *Mystery of the Acts of the Apostles*, the ruler of Hell calls them to their duty:

Sus dyables, faictes vostre hommaige.²¹

There are occasional interesting examples of this figure in the Provençal poems. Thus in a fifteenth century poem:

O prudent et discret meynaige
Qu'a Diou encuy a fach homaige
Beneyra si es vostro vito.

And elsewhere in the same poem there is an allusion to attempts to force the Christians to worship heathen gods in the manner of the *homagere*.²² We meet with the expression *obéissance* used in closely allied senses. In Gresban's *Mistere de la Passion*, God the Father reminds his heavenly subjects, the seraphim, cherubim, etc., of the *obéissance* that they owe him as their overlord:

Le service que me devez;
Vostre chief je suis, bien le savez,
a qui vous devez obeysance.²³

²⁰ Le Verdier, *Mist. de l'Incarnation et de Nativité*, II, 142, 166, 369. Cf. also, "Ceulx feront honneur et hommaige/A la vierge." Lunet, *Ascension de la Vierge*, Prol. 79, 80. "Fai lui cum fere deiz lingance e humage"; R. Atkinson, *Vie de Seint Auban*, Lond., 1878, l. 298. David's homage for heritage; Jenkins, *Eructavit*, Halle, 1909, ll. 93, 94. Cf. also Magdalen's homage to Jesus in the house of Simon, Jubinal, *Mystères inédits du XV^e siècle*, Paris, 1837, II, 147. Occasionally this phrase appears in prose; cf. a sixteenth century account of the adoration of the Magi; Noguier, *Hist. Tolos.*, 1556, p. 45.

²¹ Ed. 1506, fo. XXV, b.

²² *Istorie de Sanct Poncz, Mystère en langue prov. du XV^e siècle*, Paris, 1888, pp. 73, 140.

²³ Ed. cit., Prol., l. 317, sq. Satan is in his lord's obeysance, *Mist. du Jour du Judgement*, ed. cit., p. 224. Cf. "to serfs deveng desore, en ta subjecciun," *Vie de Seint Auban*, 332. "Omnipotent God and hygh Lord of all,/I am thy servante (Fr. Sergeant) bownde onder thyn obedyens," Waterhouse, *Non-Cycle Mystery Plays*, Lond., 1909, p. 9. "God habe ouer al his domynacioun,/and al stant vnder his suieccyoun," Lydgate, *Minor Poems*, Lond., 1911, p. 6.

Per contra, the worshipper just as frequently declares himself the *man* of God, Christ and the Virgin, or even of the saints. Thus in a north Italian poem:

Mai eo sì com vostro hom, gloriosa (Vergine Maria)
Tutore, o'keo me sia, laudar ve vojo.²⁴

There are two interesting passages in the early thirteenth century *Jeu de Saint Nicolas* of Jean Bodel evidencing the attitude of the worshipper toward his tutelar saint. Prudhom, being taken captive by the Saracens, thus addresses the saint in the hour of his need:

Sains Nicolas, dignes confès,
De vostre home vous prende pès;
Soiés-me secours et garans;
Bons amis Diu, vrai conseil lière
Soiés pour vostre home veillière.

And once again he calls upon the saint in the same terms.²⁵

In the *Misterre du Jour du Jugement*, allegiance is similarly pledged to Antichrist:

Je vueil ce grant tresor conquerre,
Vos hom devien de corps et d'ame²⁶

In a thirteenth century life of St. Alban, Aracles, converted by the saint, falls at his feet in the presence of the Saracens, exclaiming:

deveng sis (God's) hom e sis sergant,²⁷

and elsewhere in the poem (1471):

faire la besoigne Jesu cum sis hum leus.

It is interesting to compare also the following passages from the eleventh century Anglo-Saxon Passion of Saint George, attributed to Abbot Aelfric:

Ic eom soðliche Cristen
and ic Criste þeowie (thrall)

²⁴ Mussafia, *Monumenti antichi di dialetti italiani*, Vienna, 1864, p. 80.

²⁵ Monmerqué et Michel, *op. cit.*, pp. 176, 198-9.

²⁶ Ed. Roy, p. 224.

²⁷ R. Atkinson, *Vie de Saint Auban*, l. 810.

In this same Passion, the emperor Datian exhorts the saint to turn to Apollyon, who, he declares, will pardon his folly and incline him to his allegiance:

pinre nytenynsse gemiltsian
and to his man-rāēdene gebigan.²⁸

In an English prayer to the Virgin, the poet enthusiastically avows himself to be her man:

To the (Mary) y crie ant calle
Thou here me for thi man.²⁹

A similar avowal appears in an earlier Hymn to the Virgin:

ic crie e merci ic am thi mon
boþe to honde & to fote.³⁰

Even in a comparatively late Chester play (1592), we find the same expression of submission, probably a reminiscence:

And I, lorde, to thee crye and call,
Thy owne Christen and thy thrall.³¹

In connection with the foregoing, there are several verses from Caedmon's Anglo-Saxon version of Genesis in which the angels figure as the thanes of God:

Pā vās sōð svā æēr sibb on heofnum
fāegre freoðoþeavas frēa eallum leóf
þeoden his þegnum: þrymmas veóxon
duguða mid drihtne drēamhæbbendra.³²

In Genesis B, God appears thus to his thanes:

²⁸ C. Hardwick, *Anglo-Saxon Passion of Saint George*, Lond., 1850, pp. 6, 8.

²⁹ Wright, *Specimens of English Lyric Poetry*, Lond., 1842, p. 93.

³⁰ Müller, *Mittelenglische geistliche und weltliche Lyrik des XIII Jahrhunderts*, Halle a S., 1911, p. 84.

³¹ Wright, *Chester Plays*, Lond., 1843, p. 192.

³² C. W. M. Grein, *Biblio. der Angelsäch. Poesie* (Gen. A), Gott., 1857, p. 3, ll. 78 f. In this use of the word, the Anglo-Saxon appears to have felt not only the usual meaning of servant, but also the more emphatic meaning of *minister regis*. The latter occurs only in poetry or in poetical prose where Christ is conceived of as king or powerful prince. The application of *þegn* in Old English for apostle of Christ is fairly common, as also *underþeodda-þeodd*, subject. McGillivray, *Infl. of Christianity on the Vocab. of Old Eng.*, Halle, 1902, pp. 44, 49.

Gif ic ænegum þegne þēódenmāðmas
 gēara forgeāfe, þenden vē on þan gōðan rice
 gesāelige sǣton and hæfdon ure setla geveald,
 þonne hē mē nā on lēófran tíð léánum ne meahste
 mīne gife gyldan, gif his gien volde
 mínra þegna hvilc geþafa vurbān
 þat he uþ heonon úte mihte
 cuman þurh þās clūstro and hāfde crǣft mid him
 þat he mid feðerhoman flēógan meahste
 vīndan on volcne, þāēr gevorht stondað
 Adam and Eve on eorðrice
 mid velan bevunden, and vē synd āvorpene hider
 on þās dēóþan dalo!²³

Compare also the epithet in reference to Andreas:

maerne magu-þegn.²⁴

and also to John:

wuldres þegn . . . þōēdnes dyrling, Johannes,²⁵

The poet or the worshipper will also declare himself in like manner the vassal of the Virgin and the lords of Heaven, or of the nether world. Thus in a Modenese *Lauda* we find the poet crying out in a tone recalling some of the English passages cited previously:

Or me ne rechiamo, madonna,
 per vostro vaxallo.²⁶

Berceo's Miracles of the Virgin contain a version of the Theophilus story similar to the French versions. In the Spanish account Theophilus is misguided by a Jew who acts as the familiar of Satan:

²³ Grein, *op. cit.*, p. 13, 409 f.

²⁴ *Ib.*, *And.*, 366; cf. also I, 2, 39.

²⁵ Men. 115. Peter is called the sword-thane in the *Heliand*, ed. Schmeller, Munich, 1830, 148¹⁷. In the same work the magi are called thanes, 16¹⁶, 20⁶. Cf. also *Blick. Hom.* 67: "Johannes, se deora þeǵn"; *Cott. Hom.* 229: "An þēra twelf Christes þeǵne se þewas Judas scaten." Cf. The devil's revolt against God: "ne wille ic lenð his ðeonðra wurþan," Grein, I, 333 (*Gen.* 291); "swilces ðeonðordomes," *ib.*, p. 332; Adam and Eve and the angels likewise are ðeonðra (*Gen.* 450, 515); of the twelve disciples as well, *Christ and Satan* (522, 572), Grein, *op. cit.*, I, 143, 144.

²⁶ Bertoni, *Laudario dei Battuti di Modena*, Halle a. S., 1909, xlii, 45.

Commo era vassallo de muy mal sennor.³⁷

The Jew vouches to Satan for the fidelity of his new adherent:

Avrás en él vassallo bueno a mi creer,

to which Satan responds:

non serie buen derecho

A vassallo ageno io buscar tal provecho.³⁸

The Theophilus legend is also treated among the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, the introduction running as follows:

Esta é como Santa Maria fez cobrar a Theophilo a carta que fezera con o demo, ù se tornon seu vassalo,³⁹

In another *Milagro* of Berceo, an angel testifying in Heaven in behalf of a poor man's soul declares:

Fue de Sancta Maria
vassallo e amigo.

And in the *Loores de Nuestra Señora*

Descojo sus vassallos de los de vil manera.⁴⁰

In the fifteenth century French mystery, Nathalia hails her husband Adrianus as a vassal of God:

Car je cognois qu'estes loyal
Champion de Dieu, et vassal.⁴¹

Abraham likewise figures as the vassal of Jehovah:

Dameldeus prist ostal
Chies icestui vassal.⁴²

³⁷ *Milagro de Teofilo*, 723. *Poetas castell. anter. al siglo XV*, Madrid, 1864. The word occasionally appears in this application in prose. The Moors are said to be *vassallos de Mahomet* in the fourteenth century *Leyenda del Abad Don Juan de Montemayor*, ed. Menéndez Pidal, Dresden, 1903, p. 13.

³⁸ *Poetas anter., etc., Mil. de Teof.*, ll. 738, 739.

³⁹ *Cant. de S. M. de Don Alfonso el Sabio*, Madrid, 1889, v. ii, cant. iii, introd.

⁴⁰ *Poetas castell. ant. al sig. XV*, pp. 112, 95.

⁴¹ *Myst. de St. Adrien*, ed. E. Picot, Mâcon, 1895, p. 119.

⁴² *L'Estorie Joseph*, ed. Ernst Sass, Dresden, 1906, ll. 29-30.

Saint Pontius is also called a good vassal of God in a fifteenth century Provençal mystery:

La puissans de Diou gloriouso
Vos preserve, como son bon vassal.⁴³

In the same way the devils are vassals of the lords of Hell. Thus in Gresban's *Mistere de la Passion*, Lucifer addresses Satan as his vassal:

Or affublez maistre Satan
Ce dyademe triumphal,
Car nous n'avons jamès vassal
Qui face plus haulte entreprise.⁴⁴

In one instance the word *vassal* appears in a sense very unusual in its religious application, namely that of wise and powerful. Thus in the *Comput* of Philippe de Thaon, God is *vassal*:

E Deus, ki est vassals,
Partira bons et mals.⁴⁵

Vasselage appears in one instance apparently in the sense of the service of the Lord:

Kar tu murras pur lui martir par vasselage
O lui regneras tuz jurs en celestien barnage.⁴⁶

Several other feudal relationships are often met with in the religious poetry. One frequently finds the saints, angels and other celestial personages figuring as knights of Christ and the like. So in *Vie Seint Edmund*, the saint is the Knight-vassal of the Lord:

U li chevalier Christ Jesu
Seint Edmund, a cele ore fu.⁴⁷

In the *Mistere du Viel Testament* Xercès is alluded to as "premier chevalier d'Egipte," and other worthies elsewhere in the same mys-

⁴³ *Ist. de Sanct Poncz*, ed. cit., p. 162.

⁴⁴ Ed. cit., Prol., l. 940 sq.

⁴⁵ l. 1905.

⁴⁶ *Vie de Seint Auban*, ed. cit., l. 810.

⁴⁷ Ed. Florence Ravenel, Phil., 1906, ll. 2201-2.

tery are so known.⁴⁸ In one early Italian poem, Saint Michael and the angels are sent by the command of Christ, with beautiful flowers in their hands, to meet the new souls,

Per coronar quigi kavaleri novegi,⁴⁹

which recalls the appellation of Saint George in an Italian lauda:

O cavalier de Christo, Giorgio chiamata da tutta gente.⁵⁰

Saint Denis in a fifteenth century French mystery, *Le Martyre de Saint Denis*, is also so called by Christ:

Il est mon chevalier loyal

Sy ly vueil faire honneur royal

De ma main l'accommichera.⁵¹

So too, Ogier le Danois offers himself a vassal to God (l. 6437):

Vos chevalier serai tot mon vivant.

In an English poem, *The Stacyons of Rome*, Saint Christopher is mentioned in the same way:

Seynt Christofre, goddis Knight.⁵²

The word *baron* often appears as a title of respect. Christ, in a thirteenth century Provençal poem of Peire Vidal, is spoken of as:

Baros Jezus, qu'en crotz fu mes.⁵³

⁴⁸ Ed. Rothschild, I, ll. 190 et al. St. Michael is often hailed as the prince of the heavenly chivalry and "prince de l'exercice (*armée*) du ciel." Le Verdier, *Mystère de l'Incarnation et Nativité*, I, 108, 183, et al. "Nous le ferons sans contredire/Prince de la chevalerie/Celestielle"; "Prince de la chevalerie/Des cieulx"; "O Michel qui avez renom/D'estre prince de l'exercice." Cf. likewise the title given to Lucifer: "O Luciffer, mestre de hostal," C. Armand, *Ludus Sancti Jacobi* (15 cent.), Marseille, 1858, p. 11. The same expression "mestre d'hostal" also appears (p. 137) in the *Istoria Sancti Poncz*, cited elsewhere. In the same way St. John is called in the *Blickling Homilies* (163, 20 ff.) "Cristes seþnora."

⁴⁹ Mussafia, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

⁵⁰ Tenneroni, *Inizi di antiche poesie religiose*, 1906, p. 169.

⁵¹ Jubinal, *op. cit.*, I, 138.

⁵² F. J. Furnival, *op. cit.* (S. of R.), l. 576. Leg. Saints, ii (Paul), 218: "I am cristis lauchtful knyght." Cf. "Milo son chevalier (Notre Dame) qui meurt à son servise," Bodel, *Chans. d. Saisnes*, I, 24; "O Goddis knyght," Lydgate, *Minor Poems*, Lond., 1911, pp. 31, 33.

⁵³ Mahn, *Die Werke der Troubadours*, Berlin, 1846, I, 231.

The saints, prophets and patriarchs are often so described :

Dal ministeri et passion
Del valent baron, Saint Andriou.⁵⁴

Passages of a similar character are to be found in one of Berceo's *Milagros*:

Mucho cantó meyor el varon Isaya
Ella es dicha fonda de David el varon.⁵⁵

The term appears very frequently in French poetry :

Séet vos tuit, escotet la leçon
De saint Estevre lo glorious barun.⁵⁶

It is much less surprising to find such saints as St. Michael and St. George so designated over and over again than to see this title accorded with perfect impartiality to the Hebrew patriarchs and prophets. The author of the *Estoire Joseph* distinguishes Jacob as

un haut baron
Qui Jacob aveit non.⁵⁷

In the *Paradiso*, Dante notices the pleasure with which his fair guide calls his attention to the great Saint James of Compostella :

E la mia donna, piena di letizia
Mi disse : " Mira, mira, ecco il barone
Per cui laggiù si visita Galizia."⁵⁸

In a thirteenth century poem of Jacopo da Verona (*De Jerusalem*

⁵⁴ *Prov. Mystère de St. André*, ed. Fazy, Prl., ll. 11-12. "Neque aliam ob causam celebriores sancti eo nomine decorabantur: 'Or eurent-ils affection et dévotion d'aller en pèlerinage au Baron Saint Jacques.'" Ducange, *Gloss. Med. et Infim. Latinitatis*, I, 580. "L'église de la mere Dé/E de saint Pere le barun," *Ben. D. de Norm.*, ed. Michel, I, 966; "De saint Pere le bon baron," *ib.*, II, 6919. "A haute voiz s'escrie: Ber saint-Denis, aidiez!" *Chans. de Saisnes*, cxxx; "Dame, dist-il, et je me veu/A Dieu et au Baron Saint-Leu,/et s'irai au Baron Saint Jacques." *Fabul.*, ii, p. 183; Ducange, *ib.*, I, 580.

⁵⁵ *Poetas castell. anter, al siglo XV*, p. 104.

⁵⁶ *Ep. de St. Est.*, 1881, liv. i, p. 69.

⁵⁷ *Ed. Sass, Dresden, 1906*, ll. 21-22.

⁵⁸ *Paradiso*, xxv, 17.

celesto et de pulchritudine ejus et beatudine et gaudio sanctorum)
Christ also bears this title:

Davanço Jesù Cristo quel glorios baron
Ke se'en majestà su l'ammirabel tron.⁵⁹

The personages of the heavenly court collectively also bear this title in some of the Italian poems. In a version of Saint Catherine's vision of Heaven, an angel points out to her the heavenly lords:

Apresso di quelli ie sono li principi e i baroni
E li dodici apostoli che sono stati soy compagni.⁶⁰

A passage from Mussafia's frequently cited collection in similar fashion represents the celestial orders in the figure of the feudal court:

L'angeli, l'Archangeli e li Troni
Li Seraphini, e l'altri baroni.⁶¹

The English poems furnish instances as well in which the Biblical worthies are placed in this special baronage. In *Cleanmess* Belshazzar offers to raise Daniel to his baronage in characteristic alliterative phrase

pou schal be baroun vpon benche.⁶²

Joseph, often called baron in the French and Spanish poems, is also so called in the *Cursor Mundi* (16876):

Ioseph, þat god barune.

Two interesting instances, which, from the modern point of view, are not without a touch of unconscious humor, are furnished by the following verses. Pietro da Barsegapè (or Bascapè) in a poem of 1274, mentions Judas as the seneschal and cellarer of the Lord:

Ma si g'è un falso frodo
ki Juda traitò fu clamao;

⁵⁹ Mussafia, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

⁶⁰ R. Renier, *Una redazione tosco-veneto-lombarda della leggenda versificata di Santa Caterina di Alessandria*, Studi di filologia romanza, vii, 21.

⁶¹ P. 52. In B. Pulci's *Rappresentazione di Barlaam e Josaphat*, the latter is supported by barons.

⁶² Morris, *Early Eng. Allit. Poems*, Lond., 1864, l. 1640.

Del segnor era senescalo,
E canevè si era questo traitò.⁶³

A similar title is given to Saint Francis in a Provençal translation of a *Vita S. Francisci*:

Glorieus seneschal Ihesu Crist.⁶⁴

Other dignities not so distinctively feudal made in the later years of the feudal period the same impression upon the mind of the religious poet, and it is not unusual to find echoes of the French institution of the king's lieutenant, the city provost and the like. The English poet Hoccleve creates Saint Michael the chief lieutenant of Heaven in the *Chartre of Pardon*, and provost in the *Piteous Complaint of the Soul*:

Ihesu, Kyng of hie heven above,
Vnto Michael, my chief lieutenant
For whi, sere prouost Michael graciows.⁶⁵

With these may be compared a like passage from a Provençal mystery in which Peter declares that he will be the lieutenant of God:

Luectenens de Diou saré.⁶⁶

It is naturally to be expected that the complete subjection and self-abasement of the worshipper before the rulers of Heaven will be expressed in terms of the relationship that occurs most frequently in the French poems (though occasionally traces of it appear elsewhere), namely that of serfdom or sergeantry. Everywhere in the French religious poetry, the worshipper, kneeling in prayer before God, Christ and the Virgin, high or low, rich or poor, is always ready to abase himself as serf or sergeant.⁶⁷

⁶³ *Poemetto inedito* in Biondelli, *Studi linguistici*, Mil., 1856, p. 268.

⁶⁴ H. Suchier, *Mariengebete*, Halle a. S., 1877, p. 56.

⁶⁵ *Works*, E. E. T. S., Lond., 1897, pp. 267.

⁶⁶ *Istoria Petri & Pauli, myst. prov. du XV^e siècle*, ed. P. Guillaume, Paris, 1887, p. 71.

⁶⁷ Guilhermoz, *Origines de la Noblesse en France*, p. 229. In Bodel's *Chanson des Saisnes* (i, 47), the word "sergenz" in this passage is represented in the Arsenal MS. variant "fievez." It might also be noted that in the *Miracles de Notre-Dame*, the function of the sergeant is very frequently that of torturer, jailer or executioner. Cf. at Siena the Church and Society *dei Servi di Maria*.

An Anglo-Norman version of the Apocalypse printed by Meyer in *Romania*, gives us two typical cases of the use of this epithet in the opening lines:

La revelacioun de Jhesu Christ
Ke Deus a ses serfvs demustrer fist.⁶⁸

From a Mary legend assigned to the thirteenth century:

Cume saint Pierre iço entendì
A tuz seinz recria merci,
Q'il deusent pur sun serf preer.⁶⁹

In the Miracle of the Tumbler and the Virgin, the "tumbleor," who can think of no other way of worshipping Our Lady than by the practice of his art, cries out

Dame, ne despises vo serf.⁷⁰

The worshipper in a Waldensian poem is the "serf del signor" as in the *Vie Seint Auban*, the converted Saracen, exclaims:

A Jesu me abaundun serf loial enterrin.⁷¹

In an Anglo-French Hymn to the Virgin of the fourteenth century loyalty is stressed:

Eyez merci, quar en mon vivant,
Serroi vostre lige serjaunt,
En ma povre manere.⁷²

⁶⁸ *Romania*, xxv, 187. This poem contains a considerable number of similar passages. Cf. also Todd, *Old French Rhymed Apocalypse*, *Pub. M. L. A.*, xviii, 576; Matzke, *Legend of St. George*, *ib.*, p. 164, ll. 523-4; *Chr. de Rains*, 28, 44; *Romania*, iv, 53; "Fai o saber al tien sierven/sa vertad tot entieramen," L. Edström, *La Passion de Christ, poème prov. du XIII^e siècle*, Göteborg, 1877, l. 133.

⁶⁹ J. A. Herbert, *Adgar's Mary Legends*, *Romania*, xxii, 408.

⁷⁰ Ed. Foerster, *sup. cit.*, *Romania*, II, 319.

⁷¹ F. Apfelstedt, *Religiöse Dichtungen der Waldenser*, *Zeit. f. rom. phil.*, iv, 526; ed. Atkinson, l. 1844; cf. also *ib.*, l. 332: "Ti serfs devenz desore, en ta subjeccium"; "Ainz est (Adam) mult sers," *Adam, myst, du XII^e siècle*, ed. R. Palustre, Paris, 1878, p. 40; "Seint-Nicolas, serf Jhesu Christ," Meyer, *Mélanges de poésie anglo-normande*, *Rom.*, iv, 37; "A la deprecation et preyere/De Peyre, mon serf benama," *Istoria Petri & Pauli*, *sup. cit.*, p. 87; less frequently "servitour" (Titus and Lucas); "servitours de Jesus," *ib.*, p. 99; V. also the Provençal *Myst. de Sanct-Poncs*: "O mon Dieu, qu'as volgu auvir/Las voses de ton servitor/Gracias louanjo et honor/Te rendoc eyros a genols"; the angel Gabriel: "Veycy l'armo glorifica/de Peyre vostre servitour"; *ib.*, pp. 186, 191.

⁷² Wright, *Specimens of Lyric Poetry*, Lond., 1842, p. 67.

Our Lady recognizes Saint Chrysostom as her sergeant:

Mi ange! il est temps & saison
Que ie mon sergent reconforte.⁷³

So in a Provençal translation of a *Vita Sancti Francisci*:

reuele au seriaunt Ihesu Christ.⁷⁴

A number of Spanish instances are to be found in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* of Don Alfonso el Sabio, in which the worshipper figures as the sergeant:

que a Uirgen por un seu sergente
et d'alé sergente póis todaúa
A un seu sergent'assi
Non é mui gran marauilla
seeren obedientes
os ángeos aa Madre
d'aquel cuios son sergentes.⁷⁵

According to the *Elucidario* of Joaquin de Santa Rosa de Viterbo, the word *sergente* soon came to have the significance of a *feudo* of Christ: "Sergentes, primeiramente criados, depois leigos nas Ordens Militares de Templo, de Calatrava, de Avô, e finalmente na de Christo."⁷⁶

If the religious poetry conceived of the heavenly hierarchy in terms of feudal rank and dependence, it was natural that it should also be endowed, in their concept, with fiefs, domains and so on. Thus in the *Mistère du Viel Testament*, Saint Michael hails God as lord of the celestial domain:

Dieu triomphant, sur tout puissant et digne
Vray directeur de l'éternel demaine.⁷⁷

In the Mystery of the Incarnation, the angel Gabriel assures the Virgin Mary that

⁷³ C. Wahlund, *Un Miracle de Notre-Dame*, Stockholm, 1875, p. 21.

⁷⁴ H. Suchier, *Mariengebete*, p. 85.

⁷⁵ Madrid, 1889. Cant., 54, 2; 61, 8; 116, 5; 195, 11; 294, estr. In *Cantiga* 139, 5, the Virgin herself is called "sargenta."

⁷⁶ Lisbon, 1808. *Cant. de Don Alfon.*, II, 767. In the nunneries of the order of Santiago, the word "sargenta" was understood as a *religiosa lega*.

⁷⁷ Ed. Rothschild, I, 5. Cf. Lydgate, *Pilgr. Sowle*, IV, xxvi: "Under thy lord god as chyef lord of the fee."

Le seigneur Dieu com en demaine
Est en toy.⁷⁸

In the same mystery God the Father desires to elevate human nature by giving it a share in the heavenly domain:

Je vueil que au coel il ait demaine.⁷⁹

In a later mystery Beelzebub complains that Jesus will rob the devils of their holdings:

Il nous otera nos demaines,
Nos richesses, nos seignories
Et toutes nos grans galleries.⁸⁰

In the Mystery of the Old Testament, Raphael speaks of Heaven as the manor. So likewise, the abode of Lucifer and his infernal court is their manor in the *Mystère des Actes des Apôtres*. Satan appears in answer to Lucifer's call

Noz vilz manoirs tu as presque faict fendre,
Que te fault-il? Es-tu prest de te pendre?⁸¹

Adam surveys the garden of Eden as a feudal lord:

Quant je regarde ce manoir.⁸²

Of all the feudal terms in regular use in the religious poetry, those most frequently met with, and most naturally too, are those that express the power itself that is concentrated in the hands of the overlord. Everywhere in French, Italian, Provençal and middle-English, we are constantly reminded of the *seigneurie*, *signoria*, *baillia*,

⁷⁸ Le Verdier, *Myst. de l'Incarn. et Nativité*, Rouen, 1884, I, 297.

⁷⁹ *Ib.*, I, 301. "O Creature qui tout conduit et maine/Qui es fait homme affin que ton demaine/Soit aux humains donné," *ib.*, II, 274.

⁸⁰ Jubinal, *Myst. inédits du XV^e siècle*, Paris, 1837, II, 292. Cf. "à honur l'acoilt Deus of (chez) ses desmeines eslitz," *Vie Saint Auban*, 909.

⁸¹ Arnoul et Simon Gresban, *Myst. des Actes des Apôtres*, 1506, fo., iii.

⁸² *Mist. du Viel Test.*, I, 43. Cf. Lydg., *Pilgr. Sowle*, III, x, 56: "This pytte is the chyef and the manoyr of helle that is clepid Abyssus"; Wyclif, *John*, iv, 5: "Therefore Jhesu cam in to a citee of Samarie . . . bisydis the manere . . . there Jacob gaf to Joseph, his sone"; in *Adam*, a twelfth century mystery, Adam, lamenting the expulsion, cries: "Oi! paradis allas! tant bel manoir!", ed. L. Palustre, p. 78. Cr. Arnaut de Marueil, "Et si Deus dege tener ſeu/De vos tengea la sua part," Mahn, *op. cit.*, I, 174.

podestaria, that express the power of Heaven. In an Anglo-French poem of the early fifteenth century the Virgin Mary is besought to stand as protector against the power of death:

Nus seiez de la mort garaunt
 Qe li maufé mescreaunt
 Nus ne eit en balie.⁸³

In a passage previously cited from the *Mistère du Jour du Jugement*, Satan exults in the extent and the fulness of his power:

Je met tout en l'obeissance
 Mon pouvoir et le ma (maisnie)
 Qui par tres tout ont seigneurie.⁸⁴

Saint Stephen, in a fourteenth century *Martire de Saint-Etienne*, praises the omnipotence of God:

Sy fut sers cil qui tout bien douce
 Et qui partout a seigneurie.⁸⁵

God is generally mentioned as the source of all seigneurie. Even Mary prays to him as to the all-powerful overlord:

De qui toute seigneurie est tenue.⁸⁶

⁸³ Wright, *Spec. of Lyric Poetry*, p. 54. Cf. p. 67: "Dame, seiez nostre garaunt/Tres douce dame debonere." It is to be noted that the term garaunt has also its special feudal significance. "Que Diex vous soit garans as ames!" Bodel, *Jeu de Saint Nicholas*, Prol., 2; "Pur deüvrer nus d'enfernal baillie," *Seint-Auban*, l. 1448; of the fall of Adam and Eve: "Satan vus avra en baillie," *Mist. d'Adam*, ed. Palustre, p. 74; *Genesis*, 2894, Grein, *op. cit.*, I, 75.

⁸⁴ Ed. Roy, p. 224. This passage recalls a Spanish *Sacrificio de la Misa*, in which the disciples of Jesus are his *mesnada*: "Tal çevo les partio a la su dulz mesnada," *Poet. castell. anter. al siglo XV*, p. 85, l. 168.

⁸⁵ Fournier, *Théâtre franç. avant la Renaiss.*, Paris, 1872, p. 32. In a thirteenth century work the wise men seek to know if Jesus will be the real Lord of earth: "Savoir s'il aroit poeste/sour autres rois et signourie/Se li mons ert en sa baillie." The gifts of the wise men are symbolical: "Li ors qu'il offei senefie/Qu'il a del mont signorie," F. Intemann, *Verhältniss des Nouveau Testament von Geffroi de Paris zu der Conception Notre Dame von Wace*, Greifswald, 1907, pp. 55, 58. Anthure, in an early Miracle prays to Mary as the overlord of the angels: "Et vous, doulce vierge Marie/Qui d'anges estes seigneurie!" Wahlund, *Miracle de Notre-Dame*, p. 21. In the *Myst. d'Adam*, God bestows on Adam "De tote terre . . . la seignorie," ed. Palustre, p. 10.

⁸⁶ *Myst. de l'Incarn. et Nativ.*, I, 300. Cf. also: "Mais ceulx quy bien le serviront/en le servant desserviront/Es saincts cieulx signourie et Joie/Laquelle en fin dieu nous octroie." Antoine Vêrard, *La Vengeance Notre Seigneur*, 1491, R. Oldörp, Greifswald, 1907, p. 59.

In a Morality, *Vie et Histoire du Mauvais Riche*, Satan rejoices with Lucifer that the rich man is now fast in his power:

Or est en vostre seigneurie,
Faictes-en tout vostre plaisir.⁸⁷

In a Provençal poem by Bertran de Roaix, as late as 1498, the power of the Virgin Mary is expressed in the same way

amarosa Maria
e gardats nos jots vostra senhoria.⁸⁸

Saint Margaret in a prayer to Christ exclaims:

Veras Deo de grand bailia
Tu me defendi l'anima mia.⁸⁹

The expressions "de grand bailia," "de grant senhoria," and the like appear frequently enough. A Waldensian poem voices the soul's rejoicing over future bliss:

Cū lo celestial paire aurē lor 9pagnia
Portarē real corona de grāt segnoria.⁹⁰

Though of frequent occurrence in French poetry, the power words are even more commonly met with in the religious poetry of Italy:

Beata quella dona ke ha tale podestaria.⁹¹

In a sermon of Barsegapè of about the middle of the thirteenth century, at the creation God

Et a la terra dè bailia
Potestà et signoria.⁹²

Another similar passage:

⁸⁷ Fournier, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

⁸⁸ K. Bartsch, *op. cit.*, col. 407.

⁸⁹ B. Wiese, *Eine Alt-Lombardische Margarethen-Legende*, Halle a. S., 1890, p. 10.

⁹⁰ Ed. F. Apfelstedt, *Zeit. f. roman. phil.*, iv, 541.

⁹¹ Biondelli, *Poesie lombarde inedite del secolo XIII*, Mil., 1856, p. 186.

⁹² Monaci, *Crest. ital. dei primi secoli*, Città di Castello, 1889, I, 150.

Clamemo marcè e pietà
A quela sancta podhestà
Ke tuto lo mundo à in bailia
E perpetuale signoria.⁹³

A fourteenth century Passion of Christ yields a passage in which there seems to be a slight divergence of meaning:

Xpo sapea troppo bene
La tradigione et lemene
Ke inda procaçando gia
De tradare la sua signoria
sifosu nel monte andato.⁹⁴

The Madonna also has lordship in the heavenly court:

Hor teniti, madona,
Questa alta signoria
Tuta questa alta corte
Sia in vostra signoria.⁹⁵

Similar attributions are to be found in the English poems, Langland's *Piers Plowman*, the much fought over poem of the *Pearl*, etc., in which Heaven and Hell are the respective baylies or sovereignties of the celestial and infernal lords.⁹⁶

Now and then we find mention of the feudal virtues of loyalty and fealty. God, in Gresban's *Misterre de la Passion*, regards his worshippers as loyal servitors:

A tous mes loyaulx serfs.⁹⁷

Christ salutes Saint Denis as his loyal knight:

Il est mon chevalier loyal.⁹⁸

⁹³ *Ib.*, p. 152. In a fourteenth century poem, Christ has lordship of the world: "uno doce fantineto/chi lo mondo à in bairia"; "Quelo chi à lo mondo in bairia"; Crescini e Belletti, *Laudi genovesi del secolo XIV*, Giorn. Ligustico, X, 330, 348.

⁹⁴ Mazzatinti, *Poesie religiose del secolo XIV*, Bologna, p. 19.

⁹⁵ Gabotto e Orsi, *Le Laudi del Piemonte*, Bologna, 1891, p. 68.

Allit. Poems, Lond., 1864, ll. 312, 442, et al.

⁹⁶ *P. P.*, ed. Skeat, Lond., 1873, C. Text P. xii, 269; Morris, *Early English*

⁹⁷ *Ed. cit.*, p. 159; cf. also *la Vie Saint Auban*, ed. Atkinson, l. 1844.

⁹⁸ Jubinal, *op. cit.*, I, 138. In the same collection the future virgin mother is characterized as loyal when the archangel Gabriel is commanded to announce

Again in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, the worshippers of the Virgin are loyal to her:

guarda Santa María
os que lle son leaes;⁹⁹

and further

Por dereito ten a Uírgen
a sennor de lealdade.¹⁰⁰

In a previously quoted *Sermone*, Pietro da Barsegapè prays to the Lord that he may be granted this virtue:

Jesu Cristo filioli de gloria
Dà a mi seno e memoria
Intendimento et cognoscança
In tuta grande lialtanza.¹⁰¹

This poetic convention which runs the gamut of the whole feudal service relation was undoubtedly an early and natural growth influenced by a highly feudal environment. It is by no means unnatural that it should have made its way into the religious poetry of the middle ages, since the church, even by the tenth century, had become definitely involved in the complications of the feudal régime. The church had originally exercised property rights only as by virtue of a kind of theoretical stewardship, but with the increasing volume of properties falling into its hands, this distinction was lost. After the beginning of the feudal period, lands acquired from secular owners possessing feudal rights passed over to the new ecclesiastical owners with all the rights of temporal lordship and sovereignty. After such transfers effected for various reasons, the vassals of the feudal lands or fiefs might continue to do homage to a member of the church. It was common enough that great lay seigneurs held lands by feudal tenure of ecclesiastics, as the Count of Champagne, whose tenures rested with the king and lay nobles, Christ's will to be born of her. In a life of St. Catherine of Alexandria: "se tu gardes la beauté/Jusqu'à la fin sanz fauseté." Todd, *Vie de Ste.-Cath. d'Alex.*, P. M. L. A., XV, 53.

⁹⁹ *Ed. cit.*, C. 148, estr.; C. 292, estr.

¹⁰⁰ *Ib.*, C. 175, estr.

¹⁰¹ Monaci, *op. cit.*, I, 149.

as well as two archbishops, two bishops and the abbot of Saint Denis. The reverse was equally true. Bishop Odo of Bayeux, uterine brother of Duke William of Normandy, was the latter's vassal. When, partly in return for the hundred ships furnished for the expedition, he was made governor of the conquered land by William, the bishop received and held Dover Castle, the county of Kent and two hundred and fifty-three fiefs.

A lay lord might even hold from a chapter and promise fealty to it.¹⁰² The extent of property holdings among corporate organizations may be judged from the fact that many French monasteries held as many as twenty thousand serfs under their control, according to Bell; the same author estimates that as early as 800 the superiors of the ecclesiastical establishments thus became the centers of feudal groups;¹⁰³ abbots or bishops in the name of a monastery or church might concede or acquire holdings or fiefs and hold in their signory vassals and serfs.¹⁰⁴ The signories of these ecclesiastical lords might also become hereditary in the same families.

¹⁰² " Illi (Isoardus et archiepiscopus) constringerunt eum per fidelitatem Dei et S. Mariae et S. Marcellini et S. Victoris et per fidem quam eis debebat ut verum diceret et juraret " (circa 1080, *Cartul. de St-Victor de Marseille*, II, ch. 1089, p. 563. " Michi (abbati) hominum et toti capitulo nostro fidelitatem legitimam fecit. " 1101-1129. *Cartul. S.-Pere de Chartres*, II, p. 485. " Ipse domini abbatis homo devenit, fidelitatemque illi ac loco S. Trincoenobii Vindocinensis juravit. " 1044-1082. *Cartul. de la Trinité de Vendôme*, MS. f.º. 239. See J. Flach, *Origines de l'ancienne France*, Par., 1892, II, 524. In the north of Italy the feudal rights of the clergy were equally strong: " Il punto culminante nella parabola ascendente della potenza feudale è rappresentato in Lombardia dai feudatari ecclesiastici, vescovi e abati, il potere secolare dei quali scaturiva da una doppia sorgente; l'una riposta nelle immunità abbraccianti ormai vasti territori, città e villaggi, intere contee con largizione di diretti sovrani, come a dire quelli di erigere castelli e torri, di aprir vie di comunicazione, d'istituire mercati, imporre tributi e simili; l'altra consistente nella dignità missatica di cui i vescovi e abati in genere furono inseguiti sin dal nono secolo. " P. del Giudice, *La feudalità italiana nel dugento*, Mil., 1901, p. 11.

¹⁰³ A. Bell, *History of Feudalism*, Lond., 1863, p. 33.

¹⁰⁴ " Les clercs . . . pénétrèrent dans la société féodale pour la fortifier et l'améliorer; les évêques et les abbés des monastères, seront en même temps des seigneurs féodaux; il leur arrivera même parfois de confondre leur qualité de souverains temporels et celle de princes de l'Eglise. " E. Glasson, *Histoire du Droit et des Institutions de la France*, Paris, 1893, V, 165. " Les évêques et les abbés devenaient . . . de puissants seigneurs féodaux, possédant un territoire immense, des vassaux, des serfs, jouissant de revenus considérables, parfois véritables souverains, qui administraient de petits états et leur rendaient la jus-

In other ways, too, the lords of the church fell in with feudal customs; Barbarossa was ready to confer the real rights of government upon the Bishop of Volterra.¹⁰⁵ Many of them kept *mesnées* of men at arms, often even donning armor themselves, like the famous fighting bishop of Mainz. There are instances enough in the great struggles of the period.¹⁰⁶

Where the association of feudal rights and customs with church and prelate had become so generally accepted and recognized, it is natural enough that the religious poet, who was often enough cleric, or of clerical training, should conceive of all the spiritual relations of men in the terms that must certainly have been so familiar to them. The religious poetry centered upon those of the basal concept both of the feudal idea and Christian worship, that of love. As the first obligation of the vassal is to love his lord, the true Christian must base his service and worship on the love of God. Since the regulating spirit of society, government and church were essentially feudal, and since all relations of service were consequently conceived of in terms of fealty, it is especially probable that the religious poet, whose theme is fundamentally one that involves the notion of service, should be profoundly impressed with it and convert it to poetic uses as a peculiarly effective metaphor.

With relatively few exceptions, the existence of this literary convention was confined to poetry, doubtless on account of its figurative character, and almost to the exclusion of prose. Many of the terms, though in constant use by the poets, seem to have lost nothing of their special meaning. It is interesting to note in passing that the folding of the hands while in a kneeling position, originally a part of the ceremony of *commendatio* or *hominaticum*, appears to have been adopted by the church certainly not earlier than the tenth century as the symbol of prayer as well, another striking evidence of the effect of feudal habit upon the church. The poets, while recognizing the new meaning of the act, were by no means forgetful of its original significance.

tice." *Ib.*, V, 467. See also, V, 201, 212, 214, 215, 223; see similar evidence in Seignobos, *The Feudal Régime*, New York, 1904, pp. 45-6.

¹⁰⁵ Del Giudice, *op. cit.*

¹⁰⁶ Flach, *Origines de l'ancienne France*, *loc. var.*

The examples that have been cited in this paper, cover, roughly speaking, the most flourishing period of the feudal system, from the end of the eleventh century to its collapse. Apart from a very few isolated instances, no passages have been found that would indicate a real persistence of the convention beyond that time. It seems to have lost its life coincidently with the death of feudalism itself, which appears to support our belief that the convention is a conscious outgrowth of association.

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UNE ÉDITION INCONNUE DE LA *PROPALLADIA* DE
BARTOLOMÉ DE TORRES NAHARRO

L'INTÉRÊT qui s'attache naturellement à la découverte d'une édition inconnue de la *Propalladia* s'accroît encore dans le cas présent du fait qu'elle résout enfin une énigme bibliographique datant de plus d'un siècle. Mais n'anticipons pas et remontons un instant à l'époque des premières tentatives d'histoire littéraire en Espagne.

Au début du dix-neuvième siècle, au temps où D. Leandro Fernández de Moratin méditait sans doute sur les conséquences de son dernier faux-pas, qui fut d'avoir accepté l'emploi de Bibliothécaire Royal sous Joseph Bonaparte, et résidant, depuis 1814, soit en France, soit en Italie, assemblait les matériaux de son ouvrage sur les origines du théâtre espagnol, il se rappela avoir possédé en des temps meilleurs "la rarissime première édition de la *Propalladia* de Bartolomé de Torres Naharro, Rome, 1517." C'était, à ce qu'il nous dit,¹ un présent de D. Gaspar de Jovellanos qui avait enrichi le volume de notes marginales manuscrites.

A cette époque la date de la première édition était encore inconnue. Luzán prenait la première édition expurgée de 1573 pour l'édition princeps,² ce qui contribue à expliquer comment les droits de Torres Naharro au titre de fondateur de la comedia espagnole ont failli se perdre par prescription. Luzán, évidemment, aurait pu consulter son Nicolas Antonio, au moins dans la première édition, qui mentionne l'édition de Séville de 1520.³ Ni Blas Nasarre, ni Velasquez,⁴ qui n'avaient d'ailleurs pas lu Torres, n'indiquent d'éditions. Cependant l'homme d'état auquel Moratin était redevable de

¹ *Orígenes del teatro español*, Obras, Madrid, 1830-1831, t. I, pp. 89-90 et 149.

² *La Poética*. Madrid, 1789, t. II, p. 9. Ce passage ne paraît pas dans la première édition de la *Poética*, 1737.

³ *Bibliotheca Hispana*, Romae, 1672, t. I, p. 158. L'édition de Madrid, 1783 (*Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*, t. I, p. 202) ajoute celle de Séville, 1533 et une édition, sans lieu ni date, de la *Comedia Aquilana*.

⁴ [Blas Nasarre], *Comedias y entremeses de Miguel de Cervantes*, Madrid, 1749.—Luis Josef Velasquez, *Orígenes de la poesía castellana*, Málaga, 1797.

son exemplaire, trouva le temps de lire à l'Académie Royale d'histoire de Madrid un mémoire sur les diversions publiques, entre autres de théâtre, et remarqua que Torres avait publié sa *Propalladia* "à Rome sous Léon X."⁵ Jovellanos utilisait dans son mémoire les notes manuscrites sur l'histoire du théâtre espagnol de feu son ami D. Antonio de Armona, corregidor de Madrid. D'autre part on sait que les notes de Jovellanos lui-même servirent à Manuel de Villanueva dans la composition de son ouvrage sur les origines du théâtre espagnol. Villanueva, donc, comme Jovellanos, mentionne une édition de Rome, mais toujours sans date précise.⁶ Pellicer en est toujours à l'indication de Nicolas Antonio⁷ et c'est Moratin le premier qui, possesseur d'un exemplaire incomplet, se hazarda, pour des raisons qu'on ignore, à prendre le lieu et la date du privilège d'imprimer—Rome, 1517—pour le lieu et la date de l'impression.

Or, depuis Martínez de la Rosa⁸ si pas avant, nous savons que la première édition fut publiée à Naples en 1517. Moratin, qui mourut en 1828, aurait pu le savoir. Mais il était déjà trop tard pour s'assurer du fait en comparant son exemplaire avec la princeps, vu que même avant son départ pour l'exil le volume en question avait disparu sans laisser de traces; "las revueltas de los tiempos, dit-il, me privaron de esta rara y apreciable alhaja, sin que despues me haya sido posible averiguar su paradero."

Il reparut, cette fois aux mains de D. Jacinto Puigdalles, qui en fit présent à Gallardo. Mais avant même que cet érudit eût eu le temps d'en faire une description détaillée, il lui fut volé, à Séville en 1823.⁹ L'exemplaire de Moratin entretemps continuait sa car-

⁵ D. Gaspar de Jovellanos, *Memoria sobre las d'ersiones públicas, leida en junta pública de la Real Academia de la Historia, al 11 de julio de 1796*. Madrid, 1812. Ce mémoire fut achevé d'écrire en décembre, 1790.

⁶ Manuel de Villanueva, Hugalde y Parra, *Origen, épocas y progresos del teatro español*, Madrid, 1802, p. 261.

⁷ *Tratado historico sobre la comedia*, 1804, p. 18.

⁸ *Obras*, Paris, 1845, t. I, *Apéndice*, p. 153. Première édition, Paris, 1827.

⁹ Je ne sais trop comment concilier cette histoire de Gallardo dans son *Ensayo*, avec le fait qu'en 1835, dans le no. 4 du *Criticón*, tout en niant qu'il y eût une édition de Rome, il ait omis de mentionner le fait qu'il avait possédé l'exemplaire de Moratin, dont précisément il s'agissait. Il le savait pourtant, puisque plus tard il écrivit en marge de son exemplaire du *Criticón*, maintenant dans la bibliothèque de la *Hispanic Society* à New York, la note suivante: "Este mismo ejemplar [c.à.d. celui de Moratin] habiendolo adquirido en buena compra, mi

rière aventureuse. Il reparut dans la bibliothèque de D. Juan Colóm, d' où il passa en possession du professeur D. José Maria de Alava, à Séville. Böhl de Faber l'avait vu en février 1834.¹⁰ Les traducteurs espagnols de Ticknor (dans ce cas probablement D. Pascual de Gayangos)¹¹ le consultèrent dans la bibliothèque Álava et c'est là aussi que Gallardo revit le volume fugitif, le 19 octobre 1844, et put enfin le décrire et le comparer avec l'édition princeps. Les critiques entretemps ne savaient trop à quoi s'en tenir. Von Schack, au milieu d'emprunts généreux à Martínez de la Rosa, déclarait ne connaître la princeps que par Moratin, mais mentionnait "une réimpression de Naples de la même année."¹² Ticknor citait un passage de la lettre à Badius qui se trouve en tête des plus anciennes éditions de la *Propalladia* et d'où il résulte que Torres quitta Rome soudainement pour se rendre à Naples "ubi hanc Propalladium . . . in lucem emisit."¹³ Et ceci mettait fin à tout débat sur le lieu d'impression. En 1854 pourtant, un chercheur demandait anxieusement aux lecteurs du *Serapeum* si vraiment il existait une édition de Rome 1517 et si c'était réellement la première.¹⁴ Mais le doute n'était plus permis: Böhl de Faber possédait un exemplaire de Naples, 1517, qui passa ensuite à D. Agustín Durán et aujourd'hui se trouve à la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. La Bibliothèque Royale de Copenhague, possède un autre exemplaire de la même édition.

Les deux exemplaires, celui de Moratin et celui de la princeps, pouvant désormais être mis en présence l'un de l'autre la question se posait: Étaient-ils différents?

Les traducteurs de Ticknor avaient décrit l'exemplaire de Moratin sans trop de détails¹⁵ et Gallardo finalement put procéder à un amigo Puigdalles me le regaló á mí y no es de Roma." Il faut croire qu'avant d'écrire cette note Gallardo n'avait pas reconnu l'exemplaire.

¹⁰ Note manuscrite de Böhl sur la feuille de garde de son exemplaire de la *Propalladia*, ap. Gallardo, *Ensayo*, t. IV, col. 785-786. Le volume qu'il déclare avoir vu devait être l'exemplaire de Moratin, puisque c'est la seule édition où l'*Aquilana* commence à la feuille 2iij sans être précédée des sonnets.

¹¹ Madrid, 1851-1856, t. I, p. 310 et 531.

¹² *Gesch. d. dram. lit. u. kunst in Spanien*, 1845-1846, t. I, p. 181.

¹³ Quatrième édition américaine, t. I, p. 309, n. 7.

¹⁴ *Serapeum*, Leipzig, 1854, vol. XV, p. 8.

¹⁵ Ils n'en décrivent que le titre, sans même mentionner la gravure. Lisez d'ailleurs *Lorito* au lieu de *Corito*; ajoutez & après Napoles etc. C'est proba-

examen minutieux. Il décrit d'abord l'édition princeps¹⁶ en la comparant à l'exemplaire de Moratin et donna en outre une description détaillée de celui-ci. Le résultat ne laissait aucun doute : c'était bien un exemplaire différent, pas seulement une variante de la princeps, mais très probablement une édition différente.

L'exemplaire de Moratin finissait avec la feuille signée Biiij (*Jornada iiii de la Comedia Aquilana*) et il lui manquait en outre sept feuilles signées Y2-3-4 et Z à Z4. Le titre d'ailleurs annonçait la *Comedia Aquilana*, que ne contient pas la princeps, alors que les trois sonnets en italien annoncés sur le titre comme suivant l'*Aquilana*, ne se trouvaient nulle part dans ce qui restait du volume. Böhl de Faber conjectura que ce pourrait être l'édition de Séville de 1520, bien qu'il sût que celle-ci, sur mauvais papier, de lettre usée et remplie d'erreurs, ne pouvait se comparer à celle de Naples.¹⁷ Néanmoins Böhl, lorsqu'il put examiner l'exemplaire de Moratin écrivit sur la feuille de garde que ce devait être l'édition de Séville de 1520. Il eût dû savoir cependant que cette édition, décrite par Fernand Colomb dans le *Registrum* B de sa bibliothèque¹⁸ les sonnets sont suivis, non pas de la *Comedia Aquilana*, comme dans l'exemplaire de Moratin, mais de la *Comedia Calamita* et d'ailleurs ne contient pas l'*Aquilana*. Les traducteurs de Ticknor, jugeant d'après la typographie et le papier, crurent pouvoir supposer l'existence d'une édition inconnue de Naples, alors que Salvá, qui évidemment n'avait jamais vu l'exemplaire tant discuté,¹⁹ croyait tout blement à cette source que Salvá, Catálogo, n° 1458, emprunta sa description sommaire de l'exemplaire de Moratin.

¹⁶ *Ensayo*, Madrid, 1863-1889, t. IV, col. 785 et suiv., n° 4079. D'après Gallardo il manque à l'exemplaire de Böhl, c'est à dire de la princeps, les feuilles 9, 10 et 11, que Böhl remplaça par des copies écrites de sa main. Il est évident qu'en disant que dans l'exemplaire de Böhl la *Comedia Aquilana* commence à la page où finissent les *Canciones*, Gallardo s'est trompé (col. 784) et a voulu dire "l'exemplaire de Moratin," puisque l'édition princeps ne contient pas l'*Aquilana*.

Je ne comprends pas à quoi fait allusion La Barrera (*Catálogo*, 404) en parlant d'un exemplaire "que fue de Bohl de Faber, pertence al señor Gayangos y cita don Agustín Durán," et qui pourtant ne semble pas être l'exemplaire mutilé de Moratin en possession d'Álava. On sait que l'exemplaire de Böhl était la princeps, qu'il fut prêté à Durán afin que Gallardo pût l'examiner, ce que fit ce dernier dans le cabinet de travail de Gayangos le 24 octobre 1849.

¹⁷ Cf. Gallardo, l. c., t. IV, col. 785 et 787.

¹⁸ Reproduit en facsimilé par M. A. M. Huntington, New York, 1905, n° 4032.—Cf. Escudero, *Tipografía hispánica*, n° 214.

¹⁹ *Catálogo*, n° 1458.

simplement à une erreur de la part de Moratin. Enfin D. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, se joignant aux traducteurs de Ticknor, émit de nouveau l'hypothèse d'une édition encore inconnue, imprimée à Naples.²⁰ C'est cette dernière hypothèse qui vient de se vérifier. J'ai eu l'heureuse fortune de trouver parmi les trésors de la bibliothèque de la *Hispanic Society* à New York un exemplaire complet et en parfait état de la même édition que l'exemplaire de Moratin. La reliure en maroquin rouge, fers dorés, est moderne. Le volume lui-même porte la date de 1524. Une note manuscrite, collée au revers du portant nous informe qu'il fut acquis à Rome par "Mr. Payne" . . . "and was then in its original binding too ragged to be presented." D'après M. Huntington, le créateur de la bibliothèque, qui a bien voulu examiner le volume, celui-ci provient probablement de la bibliothèque du Marquis de Xerez de los Caballeros. En voici d'ailleurs une description détaillée :

PRO PALLADIA [ces deux mots à l'encre rouge, capitales gothiques. L'initiale P, qui s'étend tout le long du titre, représente un vieillard lisant. Fond blanc.] / De Bartholome de Torres Naharro. diri- / gida al. Illuſtriffimo Señor: el. S. Don Fer- / rando Dávalos de Aquino Marques de / Peſcara. Conde de Lorito: gran Camarlen/ go del Reyno de Napoles &/ Con gratia y Priuilegio : Papal. y Real./ [cette dernière ligne à l'encre rouge].

Gravure sur bois : armoiries. Gravure identique à celle de l'édition princeps, reproduite dans le t. I de l'édition Cañete-Menéndez de la *Propaladia*.

A la gauche de la gravure, verticalement, à l'encre rouge, les mots : Dirigatur Dño. ; à droite, verticalement : Oratio. Sous la gravure, à l'encre rouge : Contienenſe en la Propalladia./

Tres lamentationes de	Comedia.Soldadefca	Al hierro de la lança
Amor	Comedia.Tinellaria	A la Veronica
Una Satyra	Comedia.Ymenea	Retracto.
Onze Capítulos	Comedia Jacinta	Romances.Canciones.
Siete Epistolas.	Dialogo.del Nafcimiëto	Sonetos.
Comedia.Seraphina	Una.Contemplacion	Comedia.Aquilana
Comedia.Trophea	Una.Exclamation	

118 feuilles, in f°, sans pagination, lettre gothique, texte à deux colonnes. Sigs. A-Z, r, 2, p, a-c; 1-4; Dernière page signée dij. Signatures souvent omises, surtout iiij, et parfois erronées. Verso du titre en blanc.

²⁰ *Propaladia*, éd. de Manuel Cañete et M. Menéndez y Pelayo. (*Libros de antaño*) t. II, p. LXII.

- Aij recto. [Prologo] [Rubrique P, fond noir, le long de cinq lignes de texte.] PArte la peregrina nao delos abrigados puertos de la occidental hespaña. Illu=/ . . . do tã dispuesta y puesta vuestra voluntad en las cosas d la militia. honrra y fama. no tardo la glo//
- Aij verso. /riofa memoria Del Catholico Rey Don Ferrando. En abriros puerta para vuestro defeo. ha/ . . . ffeaua yo hazer lo q̄ feguramete me puede creer. V.S. que diu feliciter glosieqz bene valeat.//
- Aiij ro. [Prohemio] EL pobre labradorcillo por su fatal estrellla encaminado desde los pueriles años para el liti=/ . . . q̄ masme parefcē descañaderos q̄ otra cosa. Dedōde la Comedia q̄da mejor entēdida y recitada.//
- Aiij vo. /El numero de las personas que se han de introducir./ es mi voto que no deuen ser tan pocas/ . . . Sedibus aethereis. spiritus ille venit.// 23 lignes en tout, la moitié de la page en blanc.
- [Aiij ro] Mefinierus. I. Barberius Aurelianeñ. Spectatiffimo. B./ . . . li Quarto Lzl. Martij Ex palatio Illustriffimi Domini mei. D. Ducis. De Nerito.// 33 lignes.
- [Aiij vo.] LEO PAPA [grandes capitales] X [initiale, fond noir] UNiuerfis & fingulis &c . . . LzL. Aprilis. M.D.VII. Pon/tificatus nostri anno Quinto./ Joannis Murconij/ Hexafticon./ . . . Torres. fic Mauors/ atqz Minerua nitent.// 23 lignes.
- Bj ro. Lamen./ Lamentationes / de Amor./ Lametation (sic) primera./ [Initiale R. Saint barbu, les mains croisées sur un livre. Fond blanc.] REffuenen/ mis alari/dos.//
- Bj ro. colonne gauche, l. 10. Satyra. .i./ [Initiale A. Homme barbu coiffé d'un turban. Fond blanc.] AQue l q̄ fus hijos/ esta deshaziendo/ . . .
- Bj vo. colonne droite, l. 10. Capítulos Di / uersos./ Capitulo primero./ [Initiale P, identique à celle du titre.] POt tales fenderos/ me guia mi fuerte:/ . . .
- Cij vo. colonne droite, l. 9. Epistolas Familiares./ Epistola Primera./ [Initiale M. Saint tenant un livre dans la main droite, une plume ou un sceptre dans la main gauche.] MANos mi/ as que tē/blais/ . . .
- Dij vo. [Gravure sur bois occupant les deux-tiers de la page. Au dessus, en grandes lettres :] Siguenfe las/ Comedias./ [La gravure montre encadrés dans un portail gothique trois jeunes hommes dans un verger semé de fleurs de lys. Le jeune homme de gauche tient la main droite sur la garde de son épée et comme son compagnon de droite il respire un lys qu'il tient dans la

main gauche. Le jeune homme du milieu montre de la main gauche le lys qu'il tient dans la main droite.]

- E[j] ro. ¶ Comedia Seraphina./ Introyto./ y Argumento./ [Initiale M, la même que Cij vo.] MIl buenas paſcuas ayais/...
- Eij vo. Col. droite, haut de la page : Initiale O, homme barbu priant, fond blanc.
- Hij vo. Col. gauche, l. 14. ¶ Comedia trophea./ Introyto. y argumēto./ [Initiale D, saint portant livre, fond blanc.] DIos man/ tenga de/ rondon/...
- Lij vo. Col. droite, l. 14. Comedia Soldadescha./ Introito. y argumento./ [Initiale D, jeune homme à longs cheveux bouclés, priant, fond blanc] DIos man/tenga yr/remâtēga/...
- [Nij vo.] Col. droite, l. 8. Comedia Tinellaria./ Introito y Argumento./ [Initiale H, Christ montrant ses blessures, fond blanc.] HAsta aqui/ por : excel//lencia./...
- Rij vo. Col. droite, l. 11. Comedia ymenea./ Introyto y Argumento./ [Initiale M, cf. Ej ro.] Mla fe quā-/ to alo pri//mero...
- Uij ro. Col. droite, l. 1. Comedia Jacinta./ Introito y Argumento./ [Initiale R, cf. Bj ro.] REbentan/ do mue-/ra yo...
- Yij ro. Col. droite, l. 1. Dialogo del naſcimiento/ Introyto y Argumento/ [Initiale E, jeune saint, chantant(?)] ESteis en buen/ora; y en ora bo-/ñica/...
- rj ro. Col. gauche, l. 1. Contemplacion./ Al crucifixo./ [Initiale T, feuilles d'acanthé, fond blanc]. TORmentos/ nunca pēf/fados/...
- Ibid. Col. droite, l. 8. Exclamation./ de nuestra ſeñora./ Contra los Iudios./ [Initiale O, cf. Eij vo.] O Cora/ çones de / azero/ criatu/ras ſin/amor./...
- rj vo. Col. droite, l. 34. Al hierro/ de la lança./ [continue à la page suivante.]
- rij ro. [Initiale D, cf. Lij vo.] DIos te fal/ / ue en/ trini/ /dad/...
- Ibid. Col. droite, l. 17. A la Veronica./ [Initiale O, cf. Rj ro.] O Me/ /moria/ fingul//lar/...
- rij vo. Col. droite, l. 3. Retracto./ [Initiale L, pèlerin, fond blanc.] LEvāta tuſ/ pies dī fue/lo/...
- riij vo. Col. droite, l. 29. Romance primero./ [Initiale N, deux hommes agenouillés, l'un tenant des livres, l'autre un livre et une épée.] NUeua/ voz a/centos/ triftes/ foſpi// ros de/...
- 2ij ro. Col. droite, l. 35. Cancion primera [même lettre que le texte] QUan noble mal es aquel/...

- 2iij ro. Col. droite, l. 1. Comedia Aquilana./ ¶ Comiença el in-
troito/ y argumento./ [Initiale D, cf. Lij ro.] DIOS q̄sto/
por arrojar/ vn dios fa/ lue tã cum/plido/ . . .
- dij ro. Col. gauche, l. 1. Dachi faper potrei mio gran dolore/ . . .
- Ibid. Col. droite, l. 10. A vos mis señores/
los poetas castellanos/ . . .
- Ibid. [Au bas de la page:] Registro de toda la obra. [Signa-
tures.]
- dij vo. Eftampada en Napoles. Por ioan pasqueto de Sallo/
Iunto ala Anüciada/ con toda la diligencia y aduertencia posi-
bles . y cafo/ que algun yerro: o falta se hallare por ser nueuo
en la lêgua. ya se podria vfar/ con el de alguna misericordia/
pues anfi el Estãpador como el corrector. po-/fible es en vna
larga obra vna ora: o otra ser ocupados del fastidio./ La beni-
gnidad d los discretos lectores: lo puede cõsiderar. Acabosse.
Iueues.XV. de Febrero. de. M.D.XXIIII./
- [Marque de l'imprimeur : Saint (Christ ?) tenant bannière avec
Agnus Dei, surmontant un écusson aux lettres I P D S . A
gauche de la marque] Con gratia y [à droite] priuilegio.
Papal. y Real.
Semper Laus Deo.

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Hijj ro.	Seraphina. Jor. .i.	Seraphina. Jor. .v.
Hijj vo.	Seraphina. Jor.	Seraphina. Jor. .v.
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I ro.	Seraphina. Jor. .i.	Trophea. Intro. y argu.
I vo.	Seraphina. Jor. .	Trophea. Intro. y argu.
Iij ro.-vo.	Seraphina. Jor. .	Trophea. Jor. .i.
Iij ro.-vo.	Seraphina. Jor. .i.	Trophea. Jor. .i.
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	fua Auctor	

L'exemplaire de la Hispanic Society est fait de quatre papiers différents. Les deux-tiers des feuilles ont les pontuseaux écartés d'environ 31 mm., sauf par endroits où trois pontuseaux se rapprochent à 18 mm. celui du milieu coupant verticalement le filigrane d'une main assez étroite, les doigts à peu près d'égale longueur et légèrement écartés, la ligne du poignet bien marquée. La moitié des

feuilles de ce papier porte cette main au milieu de la page et clairement dessinée. La vergeure est plutôt grossière et souvent brouillée ou marquée de défauts. Les feuilles Aiii, [Qiiij] et Z ont les pontuseaux écartés d'environ 11 mm. et par endroits coupent verticalement une S gothique. La feuille N porte une S ressemblant à la précédente mais les pontuseaux sont différents. Les feuilles Pij, Qij et [Tiiij] ont les pontuseaux écartés de 37 mm. et 13 mm., les plus rapprochés coupant verticalement une main assez large, au pouce nettement marqué, les doigts écartés, celui du milieu touchant une étoile à cinq pointes, le poignet marqué. Ce filigrane ressemble assez au no. 10790 de Briquet²¹ sauf que le pouce est droit.

Il est clair que l'exemplaire de Moratin, tel que le décrit Gallardo, appartient à l'édition que nous venons de décrire. La description de Gallardo n'est pas complète et contient quelques inexactitudes, d'ailleurs presque inévitables dans un ouvrage pareil.²² Les détails que Gallardo fait ressortir dans sa comparaison de l'exemplaire de Moratin avec l'édition princeps cadrent parfaitement avec l'exemplaire que j'ai sous les yeux, par ex. les initiales R et A sur les feuilles Bj ro. et Bij ro., l'inscription au dessus de la gravure de Dij vo., les signes ¶ dans le titre de la *Seraphina* et de la *Trophea*, les initiales devant les *Canciones* etc. De telle sorte qu'il semble bien qu'avec la découverte de l'édition de Naples 1524 de la *Propalladia*, l'identité de l'exemplaire de Moratin soit enfin établie.²³

²¹ *Les filigranes*, Paris, 1907.

²² Ainsi Gallardo ne décrit pas l'initiale P du titre et sa description de la gravure est loin d'être complète. A la feuille Aij vo. (Gallardo, col. 785, l. 51) il faut lire *resciba co el breue feruicio* au lieu de *resco el breue seruicio*.

Aiiij ro. au lieu de *El pobre labradorcillo*, lisez EL . . .

Aiiij vo. au lieu de *Tinclaría* lisez *Tinellaria*.

Aiiij vo. au lieu de *perssonas* lisez *personas*.

Aiiij ro. au lieu de *Mesinerius* lisez *Mefinierus*.

Aiiij ro. au lieu de *Aureliā* lisez *Aurelianeñ*.

(Aiiij vo.) au lieu de *Ego Papa* lisez *Leo Papa*.

Ibid., au lieu de *impressione* lisez *impreffione*.

Ibid., au lieu de *presentum* lisez *presentium*.

Ibid., au lieu de *sententiae* lisez *sententie*.

Ibid., au lieu de *dict. bartholomei* lisez *dicti* . . .

Joannis Murconij est en gothique et non pas en italiques, de même le mot Hexafticon. *L'Aquilana* commence à la feuille piiij et non pij.

²³ J'aurai l'occasion, à une date prochaine, de discuter ce qui paraît être, à tout le moins, une nouvelle variante de la *Propalladia* de Séville, 1533.

P. S. Je viens d'examiner à la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid l'exemplaire catalogué comme étant de Séville, 1520 et qui n'est autre que l'exemplaire de Moratin. Une note signée de Gayangos au revers de la feuille de garde nous apprend en effet que le livre provient du Professeur Alava: "Este libro me regaló por Junio de 1852 mi querido amigo Dⁿ José Maria de Alava, de Sevilla."

Voici donc terminées les vicissitudes de ce tome voyageur et le voici enfin, semble-t-il, parvenu en lieu sûr. Car c'est bien l'exemplaire de Moratin: il lui manque les feuilles Y2-4, Z-Z4 et tout ce qui suit à la feuille [biiij]. Et c'est bien l'édition de 1524, comme le prouve une comparaison des initiales et des erreurs dans les titres de page. Par surcroît, les filigranes sont les mêmes que ceux de l'exemplaire de New York.

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NOTES ON JOUY'S INFLUENCE ON LARRA

THE question of how much Mariano José de Larra (1809-1837) was indebted to his predecessors has been the subject of considerable discussion (Cf. M. Chaves, *D. Mariano José de Larra (Figaro): su tiempo, su vida, sus obras*, etc., Sevilla, 1898, p. 40). One of the latest expressions on the subject is found in Georges Le Gentil's *Le Poète Manuel Bretón de los Herreros et la Société espagnole de 1830 à 1860*, Paris, 1909, pp. 240-243. Speaking of Larra's indebtedness to Etienne Jouy (1764-1846), Le Gentil says: "Notons pour mémoire les analogies les plus frappantes. Il reprend *La cour des messageries* (*La diligencia*), *L'exécution en grève* (*Un reo de muerte*), *La partie de chasse* (*La caza*), *L'album*, *Les restaurateurs* (*Fonda nueva*), *La maison de prêt* (*Empeños y desemeños*), *Le duel*, *Le carnaval*, *Une première représentation d'aujourd'hui*, *Les mœurs des salons* (*La sociedad*), *Le public* . . ." (p. 243). It is the purpose of the present notes to correct some wrong impressions about Larra's indebtedness to Jouy, and to indicate certain obligations, hitherto unnoticed, which Larra owes to him. In order to avoid prolonging this article unduly only a few parallel passages will be given, but passages found to be common to essays of the two authors will be summarized.

While the extent of Larra's borrowings from Jouy will be evident in the following pages, it should be said at the outset that Larra did not claim to be entirely original, writing, as he did, at a time when Spain was receiving, either as translations or adaptations, a large part of her plays and novels from France. In the *Dos palabras*, or preface of *El pobrecito hablador*, the first of his works which he considered worthy of preserving, Larra says:

No siendo nuestra intención sino divertirla [el público], no seremos escrupulosos en la elección de los medios, siempre que éstos no puedan acarrear perjuicio nuestro, ni de tercero, siempre que sean lícitos, honrados y decorosos.

And again:

. . . declaramos francamente que robaremos donde podamos nuestros materiales, publicándolos íntegros o mutilados, traducidos,

arreglados o refundidos, citando la fuente o apropiándonoslos descaradamente, porque como pobres habladores hablamos lo nuestro y lo ajeno, seguros de que al público lo que le importa en lo que se le da impreso no es el nombre del escritor, sino la calidad del escrito, y de que vale más divertir con cosas ajenas que fastidiar con las propias.

And in *La Revista del año 1834* (II, 269¹), referring to the dream he has had, Larra says:

La cosa segunda que vi fué que al hacer este sueño no había hecho más que un plagio imprudente a un escritor de más mérito que yo. Dí las gracias a Jouy. . . ."

One of the most striking cases of Jouy's influence on Larra is found in the latter's *¿Quién es el público y dónde se le encuentra?* (I, 29), imitated from Jouy's *Le Public* (II, 169). Jouy's article is suggested in turn by his own *Correspondance* (I, 119), where many of the ideas developed in *Le Public* are mentioned. Larra says his is an *artículo robado*, but does not mention Jouy. In each article the author, to determine who the public is, questions a successful writer, and each reports similar replies from the respective writers. Jouy asks a brilliant young author who the public is and the writer replies:

Cette réunion d'hommes éclairés qui fréquente habituellement les spectacles, et dont les jugements irréfragables faisaient le destin des ouvrages et des auteurs.

The writer who failed replies:

Si vous voulez que je vous réponde, me dit-il avec humeur, posez votre question comme Chamfort, et demandez-moi combien il faut de sots pour faire un public (II, 171-2).

Larra's version is very similar. The successful writer answers:

Es la reunión de personas ilustradas, que deciden en el teatro del mérito de las producciones literarias;

¹ The references to the Spanish articles are to *Obras Completas de Figaro, don Mariano José de Larra, nueva edición, precedida de la vida del autor y adornada con su retrato*, Paris, n.d., Garnier Hermanos, 4 vols.; those to the French articles to Victor-Joseph-Étienne Jouy's *L'Hermite de la Chaussée d'Antin, ou observations sur les mœurs et les usages Français au commencement du XIX^e siècle*, Paris, Pillet, 5 vols., vol. I, 1815, 6th edit., vol. II, 1815, 7th edit., vol. III, 1817, 9th edit., vol. IV, 1818, 7th edit., vol. V, 1817, 8th edit.

the author who was hissed replies:

Preguntadme más bien cuántos necios se necesitan para componer un público (I, 35).

Each author visits the boulevards, a café, a theater; each takes notes in much the same way; and Larra's conclusions about the public are often imitations of Jouy's. However, Larra's article has more details and consequently is longer, and it has more variety, vivacity and force than Jouy's.

El Castellano Viejo (I, 100) was inspired by Boileau (Satire III), but we should note Jouy's *Mœurs de salon* (I, 131), where a tedious dinner is satirically described.

El Album (II, 358) is an imitation of Jouy's *Des Album* (sic, I, 143), and *Recherches sur l'album* (I, 167). The introduction and first points of Larra's article are from the first of Jouy's articles, while the origin of the custom of carrying the book is from Jouy's second article. Larra associates the fan and album, cleverly adapting Jouy's reticule and album. Larra translates (II, 363, cf. Jouy I, 170) a passage from "un autor francés, que escribía como nosotros un artículo de costumbres acerca de él el año 11, época en que comenzó a hacer furor esta moda en París." Jouy's article is dated November 8, 1811.

The celebrated *Día de difuntos de 1836* (III, 138) was inspired, partly, by Jouy's *Les Sépultures* (I, 156). The day of the month of course, is the same in both articles. Jouy visits the cemetery, notes the epitaphs, and reflects on the dead and on death. There is, however, no satire in Jouy's article. The satirical element in Larra's article comes from other sources. Larra recalled, perhaps, what had been published in the *Revista Española* on November 21, 1832, or certain lines from Marivaux. The note in the newspaper, quoted as from a French newspaper, runs, in part, as follows:

Han cesado de vivir recientemente en esta capital [i. e., Paris]:

El Carnaval, muerto de tristeza y fastidio.

La buena fé, muerta a manos de los ambiciosos y de los avaros.

El buen gusto, muerto de un acceso de romanticismo.

La imparcialidad, muerta por los historiadores.

La fidelidad conyugal, comprometida por madamas A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, U, V, W, X, Y, Z, etc.

The lines from Marivaux are:

Ci-git la fidelité d'un ami. Ci-git la parole d'un Normand. Ci-git l'innocence d'une jeune fille. Ci-git le soin que sa mère avait de la garder. (Quoted by Le Gentil, *op. cit.*, pp. 241 and 242.)

Larra may have had in mind the twelfth chapter of Le Sage's *Diable Boiteux*, entitled *Des tombeaux, des ombres et de la Mort*. Here Asmodée conducts Cléofas to the cemetery and comments satirically on the people buried there, shows him the shades of the dead, and Death going about his cruel work. An example of the comment on the dead is found on page 197 (edit. Garnier frères, Paris, n. d.).

Ce doyen [du conseil des Indes], dans sa soixante-troisième année, épousa une fille de vingt ans: il avait d'un premier lit deux enfants, dont il était prêt à signer la ruine, lorsqu'une apoplexie l'emporta: sa femme mourut vingt-quatre heures après lui, de regret qu'il ne fût pas mort trois jours plus tard.

The *Dos Palabras* (I, 27), referred to above, was suggested by Jouy's preface to the second volume of *L'Hermite de la Chaussée d'Antin*. Both articles disclaim the intention of describing any particular person, but express the desire to give generalities. The object of each article is to amuse and entertain the public, and, as Larra intimates he will use the materials of others, so Jouy says that, in a way, the *Hermite* had been compared to the *Spectator*.

Ya soy redactor (II, 21), in which the editor's troubles are due to the *director's* interference with what he has written, may have been suggested by *Le Bureau d'un Journal* (II, 38), whose editor is importuned to print various notices in his paper. The request that a favorable criticism of a work be printed occurs in both articles.

There is some similarity between *Le Carnaval et le Bal de l'Opéra* (II, 61) and *El Mundo todo es máscaras, todo el año es carnaval* (I, 147). In the Frenchman's story the man is interrupted, late at night, reading Horace, by *une amie*, who unknown to her husband, wants him to accompany her to a masked ball; the Spaniard is disturbed by *un amigo*, who requests him to go to a masked ball with him. A good many reasons for not going occur to the Frenchman, but he does not express them; the Spaniard does.

Both parties go in a cab, so as to be entirely *incognito*. Arrived at the ball, the counterpart of the woman, who in Jouy's story was escorted to the ball, is met by the Spaniard. Also in Larra's story the woman is married and is having a clandestine meeting. The Frenchman sees people asleep, the Spaniard goes to sleep and has a dream in which he looks down through the roofs of the houses as Cléofas does in *El Diablo Cojuelo*. The person who accompanies Larra on the trip in the dream he recognizes as "Asmodeo, héroe del *Diablo Cojuelo*" (I, 156).² Larra's article dispenses with the useless preliminary of Jouy's article and devotes itself to the ball and its characters, in addition to the dream mentioned above. Larra's essay is incomparably superior to Jouy's in interest, content and style.³

² Asmodeo is not the name of the devil in Guevara's *Diablo Cojuelo*, but is the name of the devil in Le Sage's *Diable Boiteux*, where the French form is Asmodée. The scenes Larra sees are more nearly like those in the *Diable Boiteux* than those in the *Diablo Cojuelo*. Compare, especially, Larra's sixty-year-old young man with *pantorillas postizas*, and the fifty-year-old woman (I, 157) with Le Sage's sixty-year-old youth, with false hair, false mustache, etc., and Le Sage's old *coquette*, with false figure (*op. cit.*, p. 17). The man with the various false parts is in the *Diablo Cojuelo* (edit. A. Bonilla y San Martín, Madrid, 1910, p. 21). Larra's duel (I, 158), and the dying man, and the disparaging remarks on the physician (I, 157-8) occur in the *Diable Boiteux* (the duel as a fight, pp. 26-7, the dead man, p. 28, and the dying man, p. 205). The fight occurs in the *Diablo Cojuelo* (p. 21), as also does the dying man (p. 21), but not the disparaging remarks about the physician.

³ There seem to be some echoes of Larra's essay in Bretón de los Herreros' *Hombre Pacífico*, a play presented for the first time April 7, 1838. In the play the brother is dressed as a *moro*, the sister as a *vestal* (*Obras de B. de los Herreros*, Madrid, 1883, 5 vols., II, 105 b); both characters are at Larra's masked ball (I, 149). The sister wishes to attend other masked balls (II, 105 b); we find the same sentiment in Larra (I, 153). In a speech, Benigno, the brother, remarks on the difficulty of getting to the ball in a cab, apropos of his cab turning over in the mud (II, 106 a), Larra thinks he will never get to the ball in his cab, and looks out to see whether it is moving (I, 149); Benigno tries to find something to eat at the ball, but gets only what is left by others (II, 106 b), Larra has precisely the same experience (I, 155); Benigno notes the continued *me conoces, te conozco* (II, 106 b, in italics), Larra hears the repeated *me conoces, te conozco* (I, 151, also in italics); and, finally, Benigno loses his *capa* (II, 107 a), Larra loses his *capa* (I, 152).

On page 151 of this essay Larra says that that night he was more fortunate than Quevedo, "que se parecía de noche a cuantos esperaban para pegarlos." Larra recalled the following lines from Quevedo's *Romance Burlesco*:

While the characters in *Varios caracteres* (II, 86) are different from those in *Quelques Portraits* (II, 86), the former essay suggests the latter. Both authors go to the boulevards, the cafés, and the theater, and both comment on the types seen at these places.

La diligencia (II, 342) is imitated from Jouy's *La Cour des Messageries* (II, 268). The same scene in the grounds before the departure of the stages, the beautiful wife with the forty year old husband (in Jouy's article it is the husband who takes leave, in Larra's the wife), the tyrannical conductor, the fat man, the woman with the dog, the friar, and the soldier, are common to both essays. It is in the introductory paragraphs, where Larra comments on the conditions in Spain, that he is most original in this article.

The subject of conditions in prisons may have been suggested to Larra by *La Prison pour dettes* (III, 61), but there is no similarity between *Los Barateros* (III, 71) and the French article. Both writers, however, make a plea for a different attitude toward prisoners; Jouy for those imprisoned for debt, and Larra for more humane treatment of prisoners in general. Larra's essay is notable in that it is a plea rather than a satire, which is unusual with him.

The *Revista del año 1834* (II, 269) is admittedly an imitation of Jouy (cf. Larra, II, 272), and is taken from the Frenchman's *Revue de l'an MDCCCXII* (II, 381). The difference is that Jouy's article is a literary review, while Larra's is a political one. Larra says he borrowed from a writer of more merit than he, modest admission, for his is a much better composition. Larra passes in review the events of the year with a biting sarcasm, while Jouy's review is an uninteresting enumeration of the year's literary productions.

La Maison de Prêt (III, 153) inspired *Empeños y desempeños* (I, 57). The visit of the old man to the pawnshop is made in order to redeem the watch of a young man. In both articles the

"De noche soy parecido
a todos cuantos esperan
para molerlos a palos,
y así, inocente, me pegan."

From *Flores de poetas ilustres de los siglos XVI y XVII*, edit. A. Bonilla y San Martín, Madrid, 1917, p. 167. The sad, pessimistic sentiment of this poem is echoed in many of Larra's articles.

visitor is on the point of helping some one who he thinks is in need, only to find that the money is to be used for mere pleasure. Both articles present us with the gambler who pawns his watch, expecting to return for it in a short time.

Une Première Représentation d'aujourd'hui (III, 229) suggested *Una primera representación* (II, 332). In the latter article the rumors as to the good and bad qualities of the play represented as current before its presentation; the discussion in the café apropos of the play, and the scenes in the theater the night of the first performance were inspired by Jouy's article.

Despite Le Gentil's intimation (*op. cit.*, p. 243), there is almost no resemblance between *Les Restaurateurs* (III, 85) and *La fonda nueva* (II, 64), and between *La sociedad* (II, 273) and *Mœurs des salons* (I, 131).

Un duel (III, 243) and *El duelo* (II, 350) both have a long discussion on the duel, and then give an instance of duelling. Jouy tells of the death of a fiancé, Larra recounts that of a recently married man in a duel. The general nature of the articles is much alike.

In *Vida de Madrid* (II, 247) Larra gives us a picture of the manner in which a rich young man spends the day in Madrid. He was inspired by Jouy's *La Journée d'un jeune homme* (IV, 89). In both stories the young man buys himself much clothing, goes riding in the morning, then visits the café, goes calling, and ends the day at the theater. Larra's introduction is different from Jouy's, but the general idea in both cases is the same, although Larra makes some characteristic additions. In this, as in some other essays, Larra reminds one of Juan de Zabaleta's *Día de fiesta por la mañana* (1654), and *Día de fiesta por la tarde* (1659).

Une partie de chasse (IV, 163) may have suggested *La caza* (II, 404), but aside from the fact that both essays treat of hunting, there is little similarity, notwithstanding Le Gentil's statement (*op. cit.*, p. 243).

Une exécution en Grève (IV, 284), which treats of impressions about an execution on this square suggested *Un reo de muerte* (II, 325) to Larra, although Espronceda's poem of the same name may have suggested the title. The latter article has a long intro-

duction to the main theme (the description of the execution and comments on it), and is more nearly a series of reflections on capital punishment than the former.

Larra follows rather closely the idea of Jouy in the latter's *La mort de l'hermite* (V, 201) and *Le Testament de l'hermite* (V, 214) when he wrote the excellent *Muerte del pobrecito hablador* (I, 169). Larra put into one article the ideas of Jouy's two. In each case the death is announced by a letter. Larra's apologies for what he had said about people and things (following Jouy) are very sarcastic, and, in places, are a bold attack on the censor.

Thus far I have attempted to point out borrowings by Larra when it is a question of the main theme or of the title of an article. Now I shall note influences of less importance, but which show just as clearly that Larra was familiar with Jouy. In several articles, notably *Empeños y desempeños* (I, 57) and *El mundo todo es máscaras*, etc. (I, 147), Larra complains of the difficulty of writing so frequently to amuse the public. Jouy, in several places (II, 49; II, 98; II, 169), makes the same complaint. Jouy, in *L'hermite au café de Chartres* (II, 298), makes a man complain that the satirist is poking fun at him, that he is the one described by Jouy. We find the same situation in Larra (I, 84; II, 59).

Larra apropos of the consolidation of the two newspapers *La Revista* and *El Mensajero*, says in a *Carta de Figaro* (II, 309): "La boda fué ayer, y hoy podemos decir con Desmahis:

La jeune épouse de la veille
Tout à la fois pâle et vermeille
Avait encore l'air étonné;
Et, tout ensemble heureuse et sage,
Laissait lire sur son visage
Le plaisir qu'elle avait donné.

Yo creo que harán buen menaje, porque, al fin, pienso como Voltaire:

Point de milieu; l'hymen et ses liens
Sont les plus grands ou des maux ou des biens."

Larra had taken these quotations from Jouy's *Les Noces-Le Mariage* (II, 110-120). The citation from Voltaire is at the beginning, and the one from Desmahis at the end of Jouy's essay. On another

occasion Larra quotes two lines from Malherbe. They are in *El Siglo en Blanco* (II, 142):

Et, rose, elle a vécu ce que vivent les roses,
L'espace d'un matin.

They were taken, probably, from Jouy's *Enterrement d'une jeune fille* (II, 158), where four lines from Malherbe are quoted. Larra sometimes (cf. I, 66) poses as an old man, imitating Jouy (cf. *Journée d'un jeune homme*, IV, 91.)

It may very well be that Voltaire's *Jeannot et Colin* suggested to Larra that part of the *Carta a Andrés* (I, 50 ff.) where the suggestion to study Latin, Greek, Mathematics, etc., is rebuffed with disparaging comment, but Jouy's *Quelques Vices à la mode* (V, 150 ff.) has somewhat the same idea.

It should not be thought from these notes that Larra is a servile imitator of Jouy. His articles virtually without exception are an improvement on the Frenchman's, and when he translates (which is rare) the context is so thoroughly Spanish that the translation is almost original, paradoxical as this may seem.⁴

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⁴ The writer intends to publish soon other articles on Jouy's relationship to Spanish and English writers.

STUDIES IN THE TEXT OF THE SICILIAN POETS

II.—THE TEXT OF THE POEMS IN THE *Canzoniere Chigiano*

(Continued from Vol. IX (1918), p. 284)

THE *Codice Chigiano* (L. VIII. 305), the primary source of our text of the poets of the *dolce stil nuovo*, has no such value for that of their Sicilian predecessors. At the same time, a comparison of its readings with those of the chief manuscripts discussed in my previous study¹ will throw some light on its exact relations to them, as well as on the fashion in which a manuscript may be built up. These relations have never yet been accurately worked out, and the problems which they raise, tho not perhaps of the first importance, yet have some interest.

The poems in question are not distributed at random thru the manuscript, but form a single compact group, in the following order:

I. 228:	Imperadore Federigo	<i>Poichè ti piace, Amore</i>	P 50 V 77
II. 229:	Re Enzo	<i>Amor mi fa sovente</i>	P 15 V 84
III. 230:	Rinaldo d'Aquino	<i>Guiderdone aspetto avere</i>	P 27 V 3
IV. 231:	" "	<i>In amoroso pensare</i>	P 30 V 302
V. 232:	" "	<i>Biasmomi dell' amore</i>	P 64 V 110
VI. 233:	" "	<i>Per fino amore vao sì allegramente</i>	P 48 V 30
VII. 234:	Giacomo da Lentino	<i>Amando lungamente</i>	P 10 lost
VIII. 235:	" " "	<i>Amor da cui move tuttor e vene</i>	P 11 V 40
IX. 236:	" " "	<i>Poi tanta caunoscenza</i>	P 49 V 37
X. 237:	" " "	<i>In un gravoso affanno</i>	P 31 V 28
XI. 238:	Semprebene	<i>S'eo trovasse pietanza</i>	P 58 V 107
XII. 239:	"	<i>Come lo giorno quand'è dal mattino</i>	— V 85
	[240: Ser Montucci	<i>Ai doloroso lasso, piu non posso]</i> ²	
XIII. 241:	Piero delle Vigne	<i>La dolce cera piagente</i>	P 35 V 60
XIV. 242:	Mazzeo di Ricco	<i>Gioiosamente eo canto</i>	P 26 V 23
XV. 243:	" " "	<i>La bene avventurosa innamoranza</i>	P 32 V 80
XVI. 244:	" " "	<i>Lo core innamorato</i>	P 33 V 79

From an inspection of this table two points of some importance

¹ ROMANIC REVIEW, IX (1918), pp. 269-284.

² This poem, belonging to the Florentine group, is neither enumerated nor discussed here.

at once result. In the first place, the poems are not a casual accumulation, but a definitely selected anthology, beginning with the two royal members of the school, continuing with its two chief representatives, Rinaldo and Giacomo, followed by four miscellaneous pieces, and concluded with Mazzeo di Rico, perhaps as a representative of the later Sicilian generation. The fact that the attributions are not in all cases correct does not invalidate the compiler's *intention* of forming such an anthology. In the second place, practically every poem occurs in both P and V, so that we can readily examine the relation of the text of C to those primary sources. Only four occur in the first part of L: 229, L 64; 232, L 72; 238, L 63; 240, L 82; and it may be said once for all that its tradition has no effect on C. We shall therefore, in order to ascertain the facts, pass in review the several poems, noting in each the concurrence of C with P or V respectively, as well as differences of attribution, and then see what conclusions are to be drawn.

I. *Poichè ti piace, Amore*

This poem, anonymous in V, is by P ascribed to Rex Federigus, thought by some to be the King of Antioch. The substitution of the more famous name at a later date would be natural; hence P's attribution seems preferable. C's text is virtually that of P, except for the omission of *la* in 20; the insertion (needed for the metre) of *avete* in 28; the changing of *facemi* to *fammi* in 40; and the corruption *vita mia* for *tuctavia* in 42. V, however, has a large number of variants not represented in C, of which the following are the most important: 1, *poich'a voi* for *poichè ti*; 14, *voi* for *a voi*; 17, *ch'io spero in voi sperando* for *ka spero e vo sperando*; 18, *credo* for *deio*; 22, *piacere* for *volere*; 25, *cha spero* for *ch'aspetto*; 26, adds *ne lo*; 27, *e di piacere a voi* for *a piacere di voi*; 37, *tanto* for *c'agia*. Of these, 26 is perhaps the only one where V's reading is preferable; and it also has five cases of palpable corruption. These are 36, *ch'agia tante belleze* for *alta sì bella pare*; 38, *inuer* for *di*; 40, *confortamento* for *conforto*; 41, *e s'eo presgiare vi posso donna fina* for *allegrare mi posso donna mia*; and 42, *mi* for *mine*. It is therefore clear that C has no point of contact with V, which also differs from

the others in adding to their three stanzas two more, "di lezione assai guasta," as Monaci rightly remarks.

II. *Amar mi fa sovente*

This poem, universally attributed to Re Enzo, was discussed in my previous paper, pp. 280-281. It was there noted that P and V are practically identical, and C's variations from their text are insignificant, the only ones worth noting being *for temente* for *forte temente* in 4, and *adivenire* for *avenire* in 5, both illustrating types of scribal error with which we are sufficiently familiar from the previous discussion.

III. *Guiderdone aspetto avere*

C agrees with P in assigning this poem to Rinaldo d'Aquino, whereas V gives it to Giacomo; and C's text is practically identical with P's, except for a few orthographic variants. The differences between the two traditions are numerous and important. PC are corrupt in 27: *lo laido dire che vene* for *la laida ara che vede*; V is corrupt in 10: *audivi* for *vidi*, and in 40: *nè diretto ned* for *nodruto e*. In 4, I prefer PC's *ancorkè mi siate altera/sempr spero* to V's *sì mi sete tanta altera/ancora spero*, and in 32 PC's *no mi* to V's *non*. In 43, however, PC's *finà donna* is less smooth than V's *donna mia*. The other variants are neutral: 2, *da* PC, *di* V; 13, *se si* PC, *se lo* V; 18-19, inversion of the rimes *speranza-leanza*; 21, *però* PC, *a ciò* V; 24, *come ò decto* PC, *chell'è detto* V; 28, *aspetto* PC, *spero* V; 42, *posto* PC, *presgio* V. After 43 there is practical unanimity to the end of the poem. There is thus, in this case, no point of contact between C and V.

IV. *In amoroso pensare*

The text of this graceful poem, attributed by both P and C to Rinaldo d'Aquino, is practically identical in the two manuscripts, except for three minor errors in C: 22, *dato* for *donato*; 25, *vidi voi* for *voi vidi*; 35, *dovria* for *doveria*, to be accounted for by the somewhat unusual metrical scheme, best preserved by P. The text of V, however, which puts the poem, anonymous, in a group of miscellaneous pieces, is radically different, reading, in 8, *mi tene* for

distene; in 11, *sì ch'io non poria dire* for *k'eo nol poria mai dire*; in 16, *sì ch'io ne vivo in erranza* for *perchè m'ai miso in erranza*; in 17-18, *a la vita mia/non ò for la vita mia/non à*; in 21, *piagente* for *più gentil*; in 22, *che siete sì valente* for *ke mi siete piacente*; in 28, *dottando* for *pensando*; in 29, *cotanto* for *ke così*; in 30, *more* for *morro*; in 31, *riprende* (false rime) for *sperde*,³ and in 33, *dimoranza* for *dubitanza*. None of these seem intrinsically preferable to those of P, and at least one is surely corrupt. We must therefore conclude that the poem reached V by a line of transmission entirely distinct from that represented in P, and that here again V and C show no point of contact.

V. *Biasmomi dell'amore*

This poem, likewise discussed in my previous paper (pp. 281-282), shows C on the whole agreeing with PV when they coincide, and with P against V when they diverge. Two cases of agreement with V—2, *dona* for *donao*, and 9, *scordo* for *stordo*—are probably accidental, since other readings peculiar to V are not taken. The few divergences from P—*più* for *pur* in 47, *portate* wrongly for *portare* in 48, and *sì preso* wrongly in 63, perhaps by anticipation of the end of 66—scarcely disturb the practical identity of C with P, especially marked in the omission of 68-70 by both manuscripts.

VI. *Per fino amore vao sì allegramente*

Here we encounter a great divergence from the previous harmony of C with P. In but four cases where P and V diverge does C agree with the former (1, *allegramente* PC, *altamente* V; 15, *null'om* P, *null'uomo* C, *nullo* V; 25, *ne ò credenza* PC, wrongly for *non ò temenza* V; and 56, *io, acquistato* PC, *in, aquisto* V), whereas in no less than fifteen cases C agrees with V (7, *perk'eo* P, *ma eo* VC; 9, *servire* P, *a servire* VC; 15, *gioi'aggio* P, *aggio gioia* VC; 17, *poikhè* P, *dachè* VC; 18, *dell'altre donne* P, *de le donne* VC; 23, *però* P, *dunqua* VC; 26, VC insert *unque*; 27, *in grato* P, *a grato* VC; 29, *averai* P, *averia* 26, VC; 31, *suo presio* P, *pregio tuo* VC; 37, *ki* P, *più* VC; 39, *una* P, *mia* VC; 49, *seragio* P, *faragio* VC; 51, *perciò* P,

³ This line is not correctly given in any ms.; it should probably read *io meo cor me medesimo sperde*.

però VC; 54, *valore P, volere VC*).⁴ There are also cases in which C's spellings are those of V (e. g., *vo* for *vao* in 1, *aparilgliare* for *pareare* in 3. And now, to add to the confusion, there are several cases in which C agrees with neither P nor V, but goes off on its own hook, usually with resultant false readings. Some are merely errors of syllabification, as *parmi* for *paremi* in 4, *grande* for *gran* in 14, *amor* and *val* for *amore* and *vale* in 32; others are more sizable, as *molte* for *mante* in 14, *coragio* for *paragio* in 28, *due partite* for *dipartire* in 41, *fie* for *sia* in 44. Hence, while C's text can scarcely be drawn from P, it is certainly not an exact replica of V, despite the close resemblance at many points. In 19 and 34 all the manuscripts diverge slightly. In the former P has *più ricco dono aio riceputo*, C *sì alto dono ò ricevuto*; but the metrical scheme demands a seven-syllable line, apparently furnished by V's *sì alto dono agio avuto*. In the latter P has *servidore c'altro vol piglare*, C, *un servidore, voi*, and V, *a servidore c'altro de'*. *Un* would seem to be the correct reading. Thus C's text offers a few points of contact with P, a considerable number with V, and several divergences from both.

VII. *Amando lungamente*

Here, on the other hand, C reverts to practical identity with P, so much so, indeed, that detailed discussion is unnecessary; but in the three following poems there are startling divergences. No other known manuscript attributes them to Giacomo, nor does internal evidence at all suggest that they are his.

VIII. *Amor da cui move tuttor e vene*

This poem is almost certainly by Piero delle Vigne, to whom P and V assign it; the attribution to Stefano di Pronto in the second part of L is an alteration by the scribe, who, either by inadvertence or to make the sequence of poems continuous, inverted the rubrics of V. The number of stanzas in the manuscript varies, P giving only three, C four, VL five. C agrees with P, in the stanzas common to both, eight times, as follows: 3, *evendomo* for *vene ne l'omo*; 5, *e vene a ki for ed aviene chi*; 11, *sì gran* for *tale*; 13, *stato sì ricco*

⁴ Of these, P is corrupt in 37, 39, and 54; tho the error in 39 might be a misreading by the editors.

altrui (ad altrui C) for *istato sì ricco ed alto*; 19 *k'é* for *k'a*; 25, *presio e valor adesso lei avanza* for *pregio ed aunore adesa lei ed avanza*; 31, *però val* for *c'assai vale*; and 32, *e noia* for *e di noia*. In the first two stanzas, however, C agrees thrice with VL: 7, *ma sì dirò com'ello m'à locato* for P's *ma no dirò come amor m'à locato*, where I think P is right; 15, *bene* for P's *bono*; and 18, *m'allegro* for P's *sono allegro*. Moreover, C has four individual readings, three of which (the omission of *tuttor e uene* in 1, *benevolenza* for *beninanza* in 2, and the omission of the last part of 23⁵) are corruptions; the other is *per* for *di* in 14. Thus, if C has important contacts with P, it diverges in the crucial case of 7, and introduces variants peculiar to itself.

With the third stanza matters become even more intricate. It is true that C is thrice with P against VL, as above noted, and in no case with VL against P; but in five cases all three diverge, with C for the most part closer to P. In 26 P reads *a dismisura*, C *amisurata*, VL *dismisurata*; in 27, P reads *in tucti beni provedenza*, C *in tutto bene provedenza*, VL *tutto bene in provedenza*; in both of which C occupies an intermediate position. In 28 we have the following:

P ver me k'amore ò miso in sua speranza
VL di lei c'amore m'à miso in sua possanza
C che'n ver di me à tutta speranza,

where C, tho agreeing with P in the rime-word, is otherwise clearly erroneous. In the very difficult final lines, C is less close to P in 33 (*con ricco* P, *ch'al* C, *co* VL), but in 35 is very close to P's *ma lo meo ricco de' esser laudato*, except for reading *riccore* for *ricco*; whereas VL have *edellomo rico deve essere laudato*. The original reading is hard, perhaps impossible, to recover.

As for the fourth stanza, not in P, C varies more or less from VL in all the lines except two. Typical cases are 38, *e pur* C, *poco* V; 41, *per cui canto e son di gioia guaruto* C, *de l'avenente per cui vado ardito* V; 42, *e tengno me sovr'ongn'altro amadore* C, *più d'altro amante deo avere fino core* V; 44, *partita* C, *perdita* V; 48, *enfin che fie* C, *sì che ne sta* V. Divergences so considerable exclude the possibility of C drawing from the tradition represented by V;

⁵ P reads *e stanno a suo talento*, VL *ed òlle a s. t.*

yet the added stanza, and the variation in 7, do not indicate direct derivation from P, but incline us to the suspicion of a third and independent source.

IX. *Poi tanta caunoscenza*

Here too we seem to have an instance of blended traditions, the variants being so numerous and confusing that a full idea of them could only be given by a triple text. As that would consume an undue amount of space, it remains to indicate the most important. C's agreements with P against V reduce themselves to two cases, neither of much weight: 11, *albore* PC, *albero* V; and 39, *non è* PC, *non essere* V. In 10, where P reads wrongly *sì bon volere*, C has *su'benvolere*, whereas V has the better *buono amore*. In 4, P reads *non mi ven*, C *no me venne*, but V *non è*. In 2, C reads *a compimento* for PV's *e compimento*, and in 9 it has *dì cui so'nnamorato* for PV's *a cui son tucto dato*. Thus in the first stanza C is in part closer to P, in part goes off by itself.

In the second stanza C repeatedly has individual readings: 14, *così parve* for PV's *così m'è viso*; 15, *sottrasse*, wrongly repeated from 12, for *furasse*; 18, *enn amar mess'ò* for *in amore ò dato*; 20, *acchui sono tuttor dato* (perhaps by interchange with 9) for *k'eo sono innamorato*; 21, *ennaltero*, wrongly, for *ed alterato*; and 22, *che voglio morire e parmine ben fare* for *ke eo vo al morire e paremi ben fare*. As P and V are practically identical in this stanza, the divergences of C are sufficiently striking.

In the two remaining stanzas matters become desperately confused. In the first place, P has a version of its own, the rimes of which differ from those of VC in the first parts of both stanzas. P's text of stanza 3 is as follows:

Son menato per forza
ed eo medesmo mi meno al morire,
25 ed esser la mia morte e non vedere:
non ò tanto di possa
nè di valore k'eo isforzi 'l meo desire,
28 così m'à tolto amore ogne podere.

V's text of the same lines is:

Son menato al morire
per forza, ed i'medesimo mi c'invio,

- 25 ed esser la mia morte e non vedere;
non ò tanto volire
ch'io possa isforzare il mio disio,
28 così m'à tolto amore ogne podere,

where it will be seen that 25 and 28 are identical in both. C agrees with V's rime-scheme, but has its own set of readings, thus:

- Somene a tal morire
—ed eo medesimo mi c'invio
25 e la mia morte mi farà vedere;
non ò tanto d'ardire
ch'eo pofesse sforzar lo meo disio,
28 ch'ello m'à tolto amore onne podere,

where 23 is obviously corrupt, tho most of the other readings at least make sense. There are certain slight variants in the rest of the stanza, but they do not affect the general meaning.

So in stanza 4 P has its own scheme for the first six lines, thus:

- Sì alta cominianza
amor m'ave donato da venire
36 per k'eo più aqisti k'eo non ò meritato:
non giocaì in fallenza,
ke sovente ved'omo adovenire
39 amare fortemente e non è amato.

V's version is:

- Sì alta inconizalgia
amor m'ave inorato da venire
36 perchè più aqisto che non ò meritato;
non ò giucato in falglia,
chè ben sovente vedemmo avenire
39 amare forte e non essere amato.

C agrees with V in the rimes of 34 and 37, but has again its own variants:

- Sì alta incomincialgla
amor m'à onorato di venire
36 chon più d'aquistato non ò meritato;
non m'à giocato a falgla,
come sovente veiome avenire
39 amare fortemente e no è amato.

In 40, P reads *poi ell'à tanto di caunoscimento*, V *poi'n ella è*, C *ma illei è*; in 41, P has wrongly *la'ntendanza* for *la'ntenza*; in 43 C has *sicome* for *come*, thus giving a superfluous syllable, and in 44 *come* for *quant'à*.

What results from this extraordinary set of cross-currents? Evidently C does not draw from P; but the points of resemblance to V are offset by marked variations, which, tho they may not be preferable, are by no means in all cases corrupt. Are we to suppose that these variations are conscious corrections of V? On that showing it is hard to see why many of them were made, inasmuch as V's readings are in several cases perfectly satisfactory. It therefore seems most reasonable to conclude that in this poem C drew from a source that was neither P nor V.

X. In un gravoso affanno

The variants in this poem, which P assigns to Rugieri d'Amici, V to Rinaldo, are not very numerous. In 12, V has wrongly *d'amore* for *d'amar*, and in 37 *su'talento* for *salvamento*; in 33 P omits *avere*. C, however, has several peculiar readings: 21, *intenza*, wrongly for *intendanza*; 23, *in allegranza* for *gran leanza*; 24, *chellei* for *che in essa*; 31, *m'è in* for *m'este a*; 40, *dona* for *dà*. Moreover, 28-30, omitted by P, are in C, with the correct *poco* in 30 for V's erroneous *pietà*. This would seem decisive proof that C did not draw this poem from P; nor, unless C's readings in 12 and 30 are to be regarded as conscious corrections, did it draw from V. But as a final puzzle, C adds to the poem the *commiato* of Chiaro Davanzati's *Assai m'era posato*, which is no. 202 in V, in a part of the manuscript far removed from the Sicilian piece. Whence did C derive the addition, and why was it appended to a poem with which it has nothing to do?⁶ It is additional proof that P was not the source of this poem; and the variations from V seem to indicate that that manuscript was also not the source, so that here too we appear to have dependence on a source which was neither P nor V.

⁶ C's text of it is practically V's, except for the omission of *d'ubidenza* in the first line, and the substitution of *ella* for *essa* in the next to the last.

XI. *S'eo trovasse pietanza*

In this poem, likewise discussed in my previous paper (p. 281), we find that C does not reproduce readings peculiar to P, as in 9, 14, 16, 19, 28, except *giorno non ò di posa for non ò* (null'ò L) *giorno* VL in 33; but that it does show several points of contact with V, as in 5, 22, 25, 34, and 37. On the other hand, it does not reproduce V's inversion *l'umile meo* in 8, and it shows a few individual readings, such as *plu* for *più* in 13, *enpitate* wrongly for *empietate* in 20, *ti diparti* wrongly for *ti parte* in 36, and *nè gioco nol sovene* in 41, where all three primary manuscripts diverge. It also contains the two additional stanzas given by V, but by no means with V's readings. Thus, to cite the most important, it has in 44 *ch'e'mie' spiriti* for V's *ca spiriti mei*; in 47, *e'n* for *e*; in 50, *si sbatte* for *isbatte*; in 51, *or si pò* for *e se puoi*; in 52, *che ciò che non si more* for *che ezo perchè no more*; in 56, *ma prova* for *ma broba*; in 63, *faccia in lei* for *faciavi illei*; in 66, *ver* for *dì*; in 68, *che sol viver mi place* for *che solo vita mi piace*; and in 70, *gioco* for *servire*. In many of these cases C's readings are preferable to V's, and it is obvious that they are not mere corruptions of V's text; hence the conclusion that the two stanzas were not derived from V seems unavoidable.

XII. *Come lo giorno quand'è dal mattino*

This poem, since it is not in P (unless we suppose it to have been in one of the lacunae), cannot have been derived by C from that manuscript; but the text of V is very unlike that of C. Not only do the attributions differ, C giving the poem to Semprebene, V to Prenzivalle Doria, but the texts show a wide divergence. The first two stanzas are in general similar in both manuscripts; but they are followed in V by one, in C by two, which have no resemblance beyond likeness of metrical scheme. Moreover, the similarity of the first two stanzas presents great diversity of individual readings, as the following list will show:

C

2 ed e bello a vedere
3 elgli augelletti
4 ch'è dolce ad audire

V

e bell'è da vedere
perchè gli ausgielli
e pare dolze audire

5 a mezzo giorno	ver mezo il giorno
6 venuta	veduta
9 per la speranza del bel giorno	per l'alegreza de lo giorno bello
10 fello e pien	fello pieno (smoother)
11 a mia certanza	a sua possanza

This gives eight variants in eleven lines; but with the second we have a variant in every line, thus:

12 amor certamente	amore ciertanamente
13 che allegramente im prima mi mostrao	ca inprimamente d'amore mi mostrava
14 da l'avvenente	de la più gente
15 alla più gente lo cor li cangiao	poi per neiente lo core mi cangiava
16 credendome detrare	ch'io mi credea laudare
17 savio, cortese, di bella partita	avere grande bene di sua partita
18 e gire baldo	e stare baldo
19 per quella che passa	quella c'avanza
20 belleze, disio	le belleze, disvio
21 e saccio e crio che follia lo tira	or sento e veio che grande follia lo
22 davanti	avanti [tira]

It is evident that, with the exception of 9, C's readings are alternatives, not corruptions, and that in several cases they make quite as good sense as the readings of V. Are we to suppose that the two manuscripts give us two versions of the poem, one earlier, one a revision? Or has the poem been dismembered in transmission, so that neither manuscript gives it in its entirety? Or finally, are the two stanzas of C, or the one of V, later additions in the same stanza form? All these possibilities are conceivable, and the evidence scarcely enables us to prefer one to another; but at all events it seems clear that C drew the poem from a source distinct from P and V, and perhaps subjected it to an extensive revision. V certainly cannot be the source, nor can P as we have it.

XIII. *La dolce cera piagente*

C agrees with P in giving this poem to Piero della Vigne, whereas V assigns it to Giacomino Pugliese—a more probable attribution, so far as internal evidence is concerned. C's text likewise agrees closely with P against V, in the following cases: 4, *le sono* (*son C*) PC, *mi pare* V; 6-7, reversed in V; 10, *toccao* PC, *ciercai*

V; 12, *m'adimandao* PC, *mi dimandai* V; 13, *venite* PC, *veni* V; 17, *allotta ch'eo mi partivi* (*partio* C) PC, *quando mi venne a partire* V (corrupt); 18, *e dissi* PC, *madonna* V; 24, *lasciava* PC, *lascia* V (wrongly); 25, *non vo* PC, *non fui* V; 30, *infra* PC, *e* V. C has a few orthographic variants, and one or two peculiar readings: 8, *astetto* for *aspetto*; 16, *amare* for *amore*; 17, *partio* for *partivi*; 29, *l'aulente* for *l'avenente*. These, however, do not alter the substantial agreement with P. Lines 19-20 show variation in all three manuscripts; P has *la bella guardò in ver mevi/e sospirando e lagrimando*; V in 19 reads *mene*, C *in ver di me*; in 20 C omits the first *e*, V has *sospirava lagrimando*. Thus we find C distinctly with P against V, to the advantage of its text, as the peculiar readings of V are seldom preferable.

XIV. Gioiosamente eo canto

Here again we find C in substantial agreement with P, in giving only three stanzas as against five in V, in ascribing the poem to Mazzeo, whereas V gives it to Guido delle Colonne, and in individual readings, the variations from P being almost wholly orthographic, except the erroneous *fonte* for *fontana* in 34. V, on the other hand, reads in 3, *vostra* for *nostra*; in 10, *speranza* for *allegrezza*; in 11, *ardimento* for *valimento*; in 12, *che vale* for *che ne val*; in 14, *d'amore che* for *k'amore*; in 15, *ristrinse* for *commosse*; in 19, *donde* for *perchè*; in 20, *che'n voi* for *che mai*; in 22, *saria* for *parria*; in 29, *più rende aulente aulore* for *ke rende naggio odore*; in 33, *sovr'ogn'altra amorosa mi parete* for *sovr'ogn'agua, amorosa donna, sete*; and in 36, *che non è al suo signore* for *k'al suo signore non è*. Moreover, in 23-4 PC's version is

Ke tucte giòi' (gioie C) mi paion niente
quand'eo non son con voi, donna avenente,

whereas V has

quando con voi a solo mi stava, avenente,
ogn'altra gioia mi pare che sia niente,

which is metrically inferior. Here too, then, we find a return to harmony with P, and an absence of V's characteristic readings, traits also true of

XV. *La beneaventurosa innamoranza*

In this case C has minor corruptions in 2, *dstringe* for *stringe*; in 12, *perfecta e buona* for *perfectamente bona*; and the omission of 28-30. There are also some slight variations in number of syllables and the like, but nothing to affect the substantial agreement with P, and none of V's peculiar readings, the chief of which are: 6, *donna venente m'innamora* for *donna valente s'innamora*; 11, *c'ognunque cosa* for *ogna cosa*; 12, *misura* for *natura*; 16, *così* for *però*; 18, *perchè lo* for *poi k'alo*; 23, *perzò* for *però*; 32, *intanto è da laudare* for *è tanto da lodare*; and 36, *ond'io* for *però*. These obviously exclude dependence of C on V.

XVI. *Lo core innamorato*

Here too the relation shown by the two preceding poems is practically unchanged. C agrees with P in reading, in 4, *me* for *voi*; in 8, *vi* for *a voi*; in 12, *fate* for *facciate*; in 13, *bella* for *donna*; in 18, *vi* for *a voi*; in 23, omitting *un*; in 24, *donna* for *bella*; in 25, omitting *voi*; in 26, *und'eo* for *eo ne*; in 30, *quant'eo più v'amo* for *quanto più peno*; in 34-5, *ond'eo tuttòr tormento/s'eo non ò sicuranza* for *e di ciò partimento/non ò più sicuranza*. C has the slight corruption *fa soggiorno* for *si soggiorna* in 9, but otherwise no peculiar readings; so that here too dependence on V seems out of the question.

CONCLUSION

A review of the facts thus far established is sufficient to show that we are not dealing with a simple situation. After a group of five poems in which C is in substantial agreement with P in both readings and attributions, except for the easily explicable change from Re to Imperadore Federico, we have a poem which agrees with P in attribution but by no means in text, then one which reverts to close agreement with P, then a group of five which has almost no contact with P, and finally a group of four in which agreement is again very close. Caix, one of the few scholars to express an explicit opinion on the matter, holds⁷ that C had a different source from P in nos. VIII-XI; but this, tho correct so far as it goes,

⁷ *Origini*, pp. 30-32.

does not take into account nos. VI and XII. He also suggests the view that P and C, in the other poems, drew from a common source not that of V and L; but these views, tho other scholars⁸ have echoed them in a general way, have never been developed. The preceding analysis has shown the presence in C of two strata, one very close to P, the other radically dissimilar. In the former, the departures from P are no greater than can be accounted for by normal scribal variation; even tho they are generally for the worse, the total effect is that of a somewhat careless transcript of a text like that represented by P. But the assumption that P was directly used for this group of poems, and another manuscript for the rest, at once encounters several obstacles. Why should the scribe have resorted to the other manuscript for VI when the poems between which it stands are close to P? Why after VII (which is P 10) should he have again resorted to it when P 11 (which is VIII) immediately followed? Why should he attribute to Giacomo three poems which P explicitly ascribes to other authors? If the poems in C were scattered thru the manuscript, the hypothesis of a double source would be natural enough; but where a single compact group is in question, it is far more likely that the scribe would draw from a single manuscript, rather than in a criss-cross fashion from two. It would therefore seem that a partial use of P direct is excluded, and it is also obvious that C did not draw from the tradition represented by V. We are thus left with two possibilities: that both P and C drew from an elder source, in which case C would be an independent witness to that source; or, that C drew from a manuscript later than P, into which P's readings had in part already passed, but which presented a blending of traditions. What can we say of the relative likelihood of these two possibilities?

The first, attractive tho it would be, seems to be excluded by the fact that C nowhere preserves a better text in a case where P is corrupt; noteworthy agreements are those cited under no. III. The inclusion by C of lines 28-30 of no. X proves nothing, because P's tendency to omit lines here and there, for no special reason, is mani-

⁸ E. g., Langley, *Giacomo*, p. 108 (on *Amando lungamente*): "C is derived from P, or at least has the same source"; p. 112 (on *Poi tanta caunoscenza*): "The three mss., V, P, C, appear to be independent."

fest in several cases, and we need not suppose that C's hypothetical source had any direct contact with the existing P. The second possibility, then, seems to afford the simplest and most adequate explanation of the facts. We may fairly assume as the source of C a manuscript which itself represented a blend of traditions—one closely similar to that shown in P, and one more or less independent of the known main sources. The erroneous attributions to Giacomo may have been present in that manuscript, or they may be errors of C, caused, for instance, by carrying over a correct attribution to poems that followed, or by carelessly substituting the more famous name of Giacomo for one less known.

This result is by no means without value. Judging by the closeness with which the portion of C analogous to P agrees with the latter, we may fairly assume that in the other portion we have an equally close record of an independent tradition, with only such errors as a greater number of intermediaries, and the usual heedlessness of scribes, will adequately explain. The value of such additional evidence for the six poems concerned (that is, nos. VI and VIII–XII of this discussion) is obvious, particularly in the check thus afforded on the readings of V. The attributions in C which differ from those of the three primary sources I believe to be flatly erroneous; but they should not lead us to suspect the substantial accuracy of its readings as attesting a tradition of which we should otherwise have no knowledge. The specific merit of that tradition is another matter, to be settled, as always, only in the editing of the several poems concerned.

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UNA ESTROFA DE RIMA INTERIOR ESDRÚJULA EN EL PASTOR DE FÍLIDA

EN un curioso artículo estudió D. Elías Zerolo el proceso evolutivo de la aparición del verso esdrújulo en la poesía castellana.¹ A las atinadas observaciones que hubo de presentar Rodríguez Marín en su erudito libro sobre Barahona de Soto,² sería posible añadir ulteriores reservas: podría Zerolo—sobre todo, ya que no hacía distinción de los proparoxítonos casuales ni de los formados por aumentativos o por verbo y pronombre enclítico—remontarse a textos bastante anteriores;³ es inadmisibile la atribución a fray Luis de unos versos que allí se encuentran, pág. 47, ya por una razón estilística digna de atención,⁴ ya por las propias afirmaciones de Sedano,⁵ el primero que los publicó, que Zerolo no tuvo en cuenta, y, finalmente, la cuestión que planteaba,⁶ al estudiar a González de

¹ *Cairasco de Figueroa y el empleo del verso esdrújulo en el siglo XVI*, en su *Legajo de Varios*, París, 1897, pp. 1-104.

² P. 407s.

³ Fitz-Gerald, J. D., *Versification of the Cuaderna Via*, New York, 1905, pp. 1, 10s, 60s, 101s, y especialmente en las páginas en que hace el resumen de la discusión sobre si se han de considerar proparoxítonas formas como *providencia*, pp. 28s. Pérez y Curis, M., *El Marqués de Santillana*, Montevideo, 1916, p. 115. Barrera, Carlos, *El alejandrino castellano*, *Bull. Hisp.*, XX, pp. 1-26, Otro texto como comprobación, procedente de la moralidad del *Exemplo XXI del Conde Lucanor*, Ms. de la Academia de la Historia y de la ed. de Argote de Molina. V. ed. Hermann Knust, Leipzig, 1900, p. 86.

⁴ Unos ridículos versos que son antípodas de la suavidad y mesura características del poeta de *La Flecha*. Sedano los publicó, T. V., p. 37, y Sancha los incluyó en el *Romancero y Cancionero Sagrados*, *Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, XXXV, p. 46, pero una persona de autoridad como el P. Merino, muy discretamente, no hace alusión a ellos.

⁵ "Esta ingeniosa composición existía en varios Códices, pero con notable alteración, y variedad en las voces, y en los asonantes, y en algunos sin guardar el rigor de los esdrújulos . . . por lo cual se ofrece ahora al Público muy corregida y enmendada en algunos versos y expresiones, por el trabajo de un Curioso, con lo que se ha dejado más regular y corriente la pieza, particularmente en los esdrújulos . . ." se lee, lamentablemente, en el Artículo 6 al final del Tomo V.

⁶ "No sé si pensar que González de Bobadilla escribió estos esdrújulos sugestionado por la novedad . . . ó si los hizo por imitar a Cairasco, pues versos de

Bobadilla, es perfectamente insistemática con toda la demostración que viene desenvolviendo en tal trabajo, cuando trata de probar el abolengo de la tradición esdrújulista en el siglo XVI.

Naturalmente, Zerolo tenía que observar que los consonantes de Bobadilla eran, como diría el buen Díaz Rengifo, "mas galanos y mas propiamente Esdruxulos,"⁷ que los de los versos que antes había mostrado, si se exceptúan los del pseudo fray Luis. Pero no hay necesidad de perderse en las hipótesis un tanto fantásticas que Zerolo presenta. Otros ejemplos contemporáneos de proparoxitonismo podrían indicarse, a pesar de que era entonces algo todavía extraño,⁸ y algún preceptista los creía más aceptables para ser usados en composiciones escritas en verso suelto; así el Pinciano pone en boca de Fadrique, "Usase, también, aunque yo no lo he visto, entre los italianos soltar á los esdrújulos; y a la verdad en Castilla se podían desatar mejor, por la falta de vocablos para tal metro convenientes,"⁹ y de esta idea, parece que general, se hace cargo Rengifo, aunque no la comparte.¹⁰ Repetidos casos de esdrújulos en versos sueltos se pueden encontrar p. ej. en *Los Nueve Libros de las Hauidas*.¹¹ Pero deseo señalar otros casos de tal rima

éste corrían manuscritos . . . También pudo obedecer a la influencia del epigrama de fray Luis de León . . . y recuérdese que aun profesaba cuando debió escribir su libro el estudiante González de Bobadilla, que, dadas sus aficiones literarias conocería por copias manuscritas los versos del Maestro," pp. 53 y 54.

⁷ Ed. Barcelona, 1759, p. 377.

⁸ En 1592 decía Díaz Rengifo "y los versos Esdruxulos, que hasta ahora se han estampado en nuestra lengua, sean tan pocos . . .," p. 367, ed. cit.

⁹ Filosofía Antigua Poética. Epístola VII, Valladolid, 1894, p. 300.

¹⁰ "Hay algunos, que como ven la dificultad, y falta de consonantes, parecen, que estos versos no son sino para Rima suelta, como se hace de los Heroycos; pero no tienen razon: porque, aunque los consonantes esdruxulos sean menos que los demás con todo eso no faltan los necesarios." Cap. XC, *De los Esdruxulos*, p. 138.

¹¹

B8 recto	llanto y dolor immenso occupadissimo
C5 vuelto	Serrano el roxo, y llanto tan funebre
D6 vuelto	venia por entre abetos y entre platanos
E6 vuelto	Llegaron a la casa ornada de arboles
F2 recto	parar debaxo los copados arboles
G4 vuelto	ha sido por razon que yo queriendole
R2 recto	traya dos armas y tambien dos baculos
R2 recto	y Achelo que luchar pudo con Hercules
S1 vuelto	Petradorin esta, que del gran Hercules
S4 recto	sierras que hechas estan como en triangulo

en un libro bien popular y que Bobadilla debía de conocer porque pertenecía al género del suyo y había sido publicado sólo cinco años antes,¹² alcanzando muy lisonjero éxito. Me refiero al *Pastor de Filida*, de Gálvez de Montalvo, donde si bien pueden hallarse gran número de versos de esta forma métrica, y del tipo que se podría llamar más puro o refinado, voy singularmente a señalar una estrofa que es interesante en mayor grado por tratarse de un caso de rima doblemente afectada por ir unida a otro tipo de "menudencia de nuestra poética de antaño,"¹³ la *rima interior* o *rima encadenada*¹⁴ que dió lugar a tantos errores de grandes conocedores de nuestra literatura.¹⁵

Hé aquí dicha estrofa:

Batto

No hagas más escándalos, satírico,
ni presumas de lírico y bucólico;
con algún melancólico lunático
te precias tú de plático en poética;
que esté su lírica y él ético,
que mi rabel poético odorífero
no entrará en tan pestífero catálogo
ni en mi falso diálogo ni cántico.

S₄ vuelto ay mucha tierra llana y muy fructífera
X₃ vuelto hablar sobre el negocio, prometiendome

Se ha notado otro caso de *Hércules* y nueve de *árboles*. Agradezco al distinguido profesor R. E. House, de la Universidad de Minnesota, su amable condescendencia en la busca de esta nota.

¹² Parece que había sido escrito bastante antes. V. Rodríguez Marín, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-118, y sus conjeturas; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la Novela*, Madrid, 1905, T. I., p. DVI; Rennert, *The Spanish Pastoral Romances*, Philadelphia, 1912, p. 107.

¹³ Rodríguez Marín en su ed. de *Don Quijote*, Madrid, 1916, T. I., p. 407.

¹⁴ Díaz Rengifo, ed. cit. Cap. LXXXIX, p. 137.

¹⁵ Pellicer en sus notas a la *Canción de Grisóstomo*, Ticknor al estudiar a Garcilaso, lo que motivó la áspera censura de Torracca, *Gli Imitatori Stranieri di Jacopo Sannazaro*, Roma, 1882, p. 18. También entre los italianos podría señalarse alguna equivocación, por ejemplo, Guarnerio, Pier Enea, en su *Manuale di Versificazione italiana*, p. 227, dice: "L'endecasillabo con rimalmezzo detto incatenato appare per la prima volta nei poeti drammatici dell'Italia meridionale, sul finire del quattrocento e in principio del cinquecento quali Jacopi Sannazaro, Pier Antonio Caracciolo . . ." cuando podría verse un caso de tal rima en el Petrarca, como señaló Rodríguez Marín, *op. cit.*, 330, aunque no es como él dice la Canción IX sino la XI. V. *Le Rime di Francesco Petrarca* (ed. Giovanni Mestica), Firenze, 1896, p. 149.

Esto ocurre al comienzo de la sexta parte en la discusión sostenida por Batto y Silvano sobre los méritos de las escuelas tradicional e italianizante. Siralvo trata de poner paz con unos versos esdrújulos¹⁶ (Pastores, dos poetas celeberrimos,—no han de tratarse así, que es caso ilícito . . .); Silvano, como para demostrar que podía dominar las dificultades rítmicas, así como Castillejo escribió sonetos y versos culteranos Tomé de Burguillos, contesta con una estrofa grave de rima interior;¹⁷ pero Batto va más allá y enlazando la rima con *sándalos*, palabra con que termina la estrofa de Silvano, junta los dos artificios retóricos.

Por el número tan grande, relativamente, de casos de proparoxitonismo y *rimalmesso* que en las novelas pastorales se presentan, y hasta en esta unión de ambos procedimientos, de que acabo de hablar, puede corroborarse la admitida idea de cuánto contribuyó a la difusión de tales artificios en nuestra poética la *Arcadía* de Sannazaro, que también ambos conoció y usó. Y hasta parece que contribuye más a hacerlo creer así aquel dicho del canónigo Pacheco, hablando de los malos poetas de su época:

“Un siempre andar con todos en porfías
Sobre un agudo, esdrújulo ó bucólico.”¹⁸

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¹⁶ Ed. Menéndez y Pelayo, *op. cit.*, II, p. 466.

¹⁷ Para otros casos de estas “chilindrinas literarias” V. Ticknor y Díaz Rengifo, *loc. cit.*, Rodríguez Marín, *op. cit.*, pp. 330s y sus notas al Capítulo XIV del *Quijote*, Navarro Tomás, nota p. 43, de su ed. de Garcilaso, *Clásicos Castellanos*, III, y Menéndez y Pelayo, *op. cit.*, I, CDXXIX y CDLXXXVI.

Como ejemplo de estos procedimientos en la literatura francesa, puede verse la *Chanson III* de Marot, que comienza: “Dieu garde ma Maitresse et regente,” donde, en las tres estrofas de que consta, se encuentran *rimes annexées, couronnées, y enchainées*. Véase *Oeuvres complètes* de Clément Marot, ed. Jannet, Paris, 1873, t. II, pp. 176-177. Quien se interese en estos asuntos, podrá ven tratada la cuestión de estos juegos rítmicos, en relación con *l'Ecole des Rhétoriciens*, en el estudio de Mr. Henry Guy, *Histoire de la Poésie française au seizième siècle*, Paris, 1910, §§ 132-136.

¹⁸ *Sátira apologética en honor del divino Dueñas*, ed. Rodríguez Marín, *Rev. de Arch.*, XVII, p. 10. Compuesta en 1569. Hay en ella esparcidos varios consonantes esdrújulos.

CRUCES DE SINÓNIMOS

EL hecho es sobradamente conocido, y en él se fundan algunas etimologías que todos aceptamos. Es un caso concreto de la etimología popular, y podíamos decir que un capítulo de la analogía, que de la categoría de curiosidad filológica va pasando a la de elemento fundamental en el proceso de las lenguas. Sin él hemos ido desflorando la etimología castellana y sentando las bases de su fonética; pero al salirnos de este camino firme y entrarnos en la maraña de las voces populares, no petrificadas por la tradición literaria, al extender nuestra acción a formas oscuras, se ve que sobre las normas fonéticas actúan fuerzas distintas que retuercen y embrollan las palabras. Y desde el momento en que estas fuerzas son elemento esencial de formación, hay que ir a estudiarlas y clasificarlas con igual motivo con que estudiamos las leyes fonéticas. Lo más curioso de este estudio inicial de la analogía es que se ha emprendido con mayor brío en las lenguas clásicas, donde es difícil y oscuro, más que en las actuales vulgares, donde la riqueza de elementos permitirá sistematizarlo, sometiendo a principios los procesos más sutiles y complicados. La observación de que esas desviaciones de la analogía de las formas vulgares no han de ser aplicables a las formas cultas es cierta en la actualidad, porque los diccionarios y la literatura han fijado una forma en cada palabra, que perdura entre las deformaciones vulgares; pero en la constitución de nuestra lengua, en que estos motivos de fijación no existían, las deformaciones existieron como ahora, en el vulgo, y en la selección posterior de las variantes no prevalecieron siempre las formas fonéticas. Por esta razón este estudio actual ha de ir vinculado al de nuestra etimología. Tampoco de otras lenguas existen estudios amplios de cruces de sinónimos y se citan sólo ejemplos sueltos, como el italiano *sciugnolo* 'simple' que ha resultado de la fusión de *scempio* 'simple' y *ugnolo* 'único,' y como el francés *hispre*, en que claramente se ve la convergencia de *HISPIDUS* y *ASPER*. Y sin embargo se comprende que la superposición de sinónimos tiene que ser un hecho universal y frecuente, como que a la menor vacilación en el proceso previo mental de elección de sinónimos se sigue el atropellarse estos en la emisión, y de ahí ese caso corriente en nuestras

conversaciones de equivocar una palabra contaminándola con algún elemento de otra, por haberse asociado la representación articuladora de otro sinónimo. De estas superposiciones he de exponer unos ejemplos, que merecen multiplicarse para aclarar este interesante problema. Entre las varios sinónimos que significan 'dar principio' los cruces son antiguos y continuos; el viejo *começar* (véanse ejemplos y etimologías, en Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar de mio Cid*, II, 584) fundió *comenzar* y *empeçar*; el vulgar *emprincipiar* ha tomado el comienzo de *empezar* y *emprender*; *escomencipiar* y *comencipiar* han unido *comenzar* y *principiar*. La etimología de *encentar* 'empezar una cosa, comenzar un pan etc.', ha suscitado alguna discusión: Förster (en *Zeitschrift* de Gröber, III, 561) supone para él un intensivo *insectare* (por *secare*), contra la etimología *inceptare*; pero, aparte de insolubles dificultades fonéticas, el hecho de estar frente a una forma común *encetar* del portugués, gallego y leonés, que responden a una etimología clara, es suficiente para desechar la primera; verosíblemente se trata de una prestación de *n* de *comenzar*. En las varias palabras que los grupos españoles poseen para indicar 'un ojo defectuoso, bizco, tuerto, irritado, etc.' los cruzamientos abundan, y pueden ser observados aun sin decirse en el magno embrollo de estas etimologías. En el asturiano encontramos *llisgu* por 'bizco' que sin vacilar refiero al latín LUSCU (viviante en el vasco *laushu*, francés *louche*, italiano *berlusco* BIS-LUSCU); esta palabra ofrece una *g* anormal, que podremos salvar admitiendo el cruce de *bisgo* y *lusco llusco*. En Soria existe la expresión *ojo bireque* 'ojo torcido' cuya filiación debemos ver entre este tejido de formas: en Alava *ojo biriqui* 'mujer tuerta, bizca o con algún otro defecto en los ojos' (*Vocabulario de palabras usadas en Alava*, de Baráibar), quien la refiere el basco *birika* 'pulmón': en esta voz entran elementos de *virojo* 'bisojo' (voz no incluida en el Diccionario de la Academia, pero trivial y correspondiente al gallego *virollo*), cuyas formas refiero condicional y alternativamente al conocido BIS-OCULU, origen posible de *bisojo*,¹

¹ No creo infundada la etimología BIS OCULU propuesta por Diez, *Wört.* 432, aceptada por Körting 1426, y por M. Lübke *Gram.* II 540, con una modificación ideológica de BIS, que vemos en *vislumbrar*, y que pudo nacer de una atracción de VIX; pero si *VERSICU (VERSARI) es, como propone C. Michaelis, el origen de *bischo*, no es absurdo admitir como etimología posible *ves(a)-ojo* (comp. *besana*, etc.) equiparable al italiano *bercilochio*.

con un cambio BIS BIR, equiparable al del francés *berlue* BIS-LUC 'visión mala' e italiano *berlusco* BIS-LUSCU 'bizco' o a una composición de *virar*, **viraojo* > *virojo* como *abreojo* > *abrojo*: pero por otra parte *viereque* tiene elementos de otra palabra burgalesa *ojos de breque* 'ojos encarnados' cuyo sentido debe ser el que la *Pícara Justina* ofrece "Con un *ojo de breque* y otro que le chorreaba miel de cañas"; el origen especie de pescado muy parecido al besugo y que tiene los ojos muy crecidos y encarnados, que por otro nombre se llama *breque* y en Galicia ollomol: *ojos de breca* o *breque* por analogía se llaman los ojos pitarrosos, grandes, atravesador y remellados; pez identificado con el *bleak inglés* 'el albur o breque.' La forma *bisgo* como *bizco* no ofrecen dificultad relacionados con *VERSICU; a otras, como *ojo guirrio*, en Vinuesa (Soria), *ojos de viricú* en Soria, no veo ahora explicación fácil; el *revilgo* salmantino (*El dialecto vulgar salmantino*, de Lamano) no debe ser desviación de *bizco*, sino de otro origen, acaso relacionado con el francés *bigle* 'bizco' o con el italiano *bieco* 'bizco' O-BLIQUU. Las etimologías románicas de una serie de palabras que significan 'estropeado, mustio, manido, blando, podrido' solo podrán aclararse a base de una serie de interferencias de MUSTU 'mosto' MUCCU 'moco' MUSCU 'moho' MARCIDU 'marchito' y MURCIDU 'flojo'; el castellano *amuzado* 'triste, mustio' en Quintanar (Burgos) responde a una base *MUSCIDU, que pide el italiano *moscio*; *mustio* supone MUSTIDO, pero el gallego *muscho* y mucho acusan MUSTEU (comp. bicho); el gallego *murcho* parece ser cruce de *mucho* y *murcio* MURCIDU. El aragonés *trinchón* 'chichón' es producto del cruce de *trenque* 'herida hecha en la cabeza a consecuencia de una caída o por recibir un golpe' (Coll, *Colección de voces usadas en la Liara*) y de *chichón* (vulgar *chinchón* por otra contaminación diferente). En Lucas Fernández (*Farsas y Eglogas*. Ed. de Cañete. p. 116) *erguecha* es el cruce de *erecha* (*arecha* en el *Poema de Yucuf*, 76) ERECTA y de *erguida*. El salmantino *zacho* 'azada' (Lamano, *El dialecto vulgar salmantino* s. v.) se ha formado sobre *sacho* SARCULU y *zada*, *zaeja* 'azada' ASCIATA, importaciones castellanas, en vez de las formas etimológicas leonesas *jada*, *ajada* (con pérdida de *a* por el caso de fonética sintáctica *la azada*). El leonés conoce una forma *falispas* 'ráfagas de nieve, nieve menuda como tamizada, copos volanderos y pequeños' (Garrote, *El dialecto*

vulgar leones, s. v.): es clara su relación con *faisca* portugués, gallego *feila* FAVILLA) entrecruzado con *chispas* 'copos menudos de nieve.' El gallego *fasquio* denuncia claramente el cruce de *fastio* FASTIDIU y de *asco*. En las ideas de 'oscuro, tenebroso' las compenetraciones son frecuentes; en el antiguo castellano *tenebregoso* vemos la fusión de *tenebroso* y *lóbrego*; *tenebregura* 'oscuridad' vive en el actual leonés (Alemany, *Boletín de la Real Academia*, III, 62); la voz salmantina *lobriosco* acusa los dos sinónimos *lóbrego* y *fosco* 'oscuro'; un nuevo cruce ha sufrido la voz anterior con *nubro* *ñubro* para deformarse en *nubriosco* (Lamano, s. v.); la evolución del ant. *tiniebra* (San Millán, 212) al actual *tiniebla*, que tanto chocaba (v. Hanssen, *Gram.*, 157) es un simple cruzamiento con *niebla*; el salmantino *ombría* por una contaminación semejante, por la relación entre *sombra* y *frío* se ha convertido en *omfría* (Lamano, s. v.). El leonés *jasquear* 'jadear' (*Bol. de la Acad.*, IV, 92) es superposición de *jadear* y *basquear*. Lamano (o. c.) presenta la voz *reguetar*, que ha nacido del *regüeldar* *regoldar* (REGULARE? REGURGITARE?) cruzado con *erotar* *arrotrar* *eructare*. El vulgar *trimulto* (Baráibar, *Vocabulario de palabras usadas en Alava*, s. v.) es el cultismo *tumulto* superpuesto a sinónimos como *trifulca*, *trepe*. Creo también que la forma común *agriro* ha nacido de la fusión de *agre* y *agro*. El vulgar *lambrea* en Valles (Burgos) 'lamprea' responde a *lamprea* y *lambrija* 'lombriz.' El gallego *nortello* 'artejo' lo he comparado en mi *Gramática Gallega*, 161, con el francés *orteil*, cruzado al parecer con el celta *ordiga* 'dedo del pie'; pero me inclino a creer que es superfetación de *no* 'nudillo, artejo' y *artello*, aún conservado; la variante *norcellos* supone un cruce distinto. De *barda* y *zarza* conoce el aragonés un híbrido *barza* (Borao, *Diccionario de voces aragonesas*, s. v.). *Juñir* JUNGERE y *juntar* han producido el salmantino *juñar*, así como *maleta* y *malencónico* > *malenco*, *meollo* y *miga* > *migollo* 'meollo,' *finca* y *granja* > *finja*. En León *nubres* (Garrote, o. c.) de *nubes* y *nubrado*, *gavilucho* de *gavilán* y *aguilucho*. En maragato *esfarrajar* 'romper, rajar, destrozar' (*Bol. de la Acad.*, IV, 88) de *esfarrapear* y *rajar*, *esguachernar* 'dislocar, destrozar' de *esguachar* y *escuadernar*, *revirivuelta* de *revuelta* y *revirada*. Con la significación de 'agujero' hay varias formas dialectales, como *buraco* y *forado horado*, que se entrecruzan; así el *furado* gallego,

con prestación de *u*, *furacu* en asturiano con cruce en el comienzo y en el sufijo, *boraco* entre los judíos españoles de oriente (Rodolfo Gil, *Romancero judeo-español*, 95) y *boracer* en la Biblia de Constantinopla (*Habac.* 3. 14), con prestación de *o*; aun la misma forma *buraco* pudiera hacernos pensar en una superposición de *horado forado* y *buco* 'agujero' (italiano *buco*); el sanabrés *fuchaco* 'agujero' parece que nos lleva a un nuevo cruce con *focha*. El castellano *calima* 'canícula, oscuridad producida por la evaporación etc.', no puede ser correlativo fonético de *calina* CALIGINA, sino entrecruzamiento con *bruma* o *calma*. *Varciar* 'verter o vaciar' parece resultado de estos dos verbos. Distintos sustantivos que denotan, 'emanación, aliento, olor' como *vafo* y *tafo* parecen cruzamientos modernos de *vaho* y *fato* (popularización de *olfato*). La forma común *alrededor* no es propiamente metátesis de *al-derredor*, sino cruce de *al redor* y *de redor*.

El caudal de ejemplos es inagotable y merece un trabajo serio y amplio. Es cierto que el asunto es delicado y expuesto a grandes peligros de imaginación; pero el hecho y la amplitud del fenómeno son innegables, y bien merece la pena de arrostrar aquellos para intentar en castellano la explicación de muchas formas que escapan a una derivación normal.

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DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS IN THE ROMANCE LANGUAGES AT YALE UNIVERSITY: A SURVEY
AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

THE name of William Dwight Whitney, the greatest philologist and one of the greatest scholars that the United States have produced, is intimately associated with the early history of the Department of Romance Languages of Yale University; for, while primarily devoted to studies in Sanskrit, he was also an instructor in modern languages during almost all of his active life, and under his able editorship a number of works in the modern field, mostly of a pedagogical nature, were issued. His influence on the teaching of modern languages can scarcely be overestimated, for Professor Whitney was gifted with unusual judgment and skill in presentation. While the fanciful theories of his arch-antagonist, Max Müller—who wrote the thundering Teutonic philippics, *In Self-Defense* and *My Reply to Mr. Darwin*, with the avowed intention of overcoming the brilliant American—have passed more or less wholly into a well-deserved oblivion, the products of Professor Whitney's careful and comprehensive scholarship are almost as freshly up-to-date as at the time when they were traced by his trenchant pen.¹

No sketch, however brief, of activities in Romance scholarship at Yale, should fail to include mention of the career of William I. Knapp (1835-1908) who was Street Professor of Modern Languages at Yale University from 1879 to 1892. His *Grammar of the Modern Spanish Language*, published in 1882, was almost the first systematic presentation of that language in the American college text-book.² Besides being a scholar of high rank, Professor Knapp

¹ For a series of estimates of Professor Whitney's distinguished career and a bibliography of his writings, cf. *The Whitney Memorial Meeting*, a report of that session of the First American Congress of Philologists, . . . held at Philadelphia, December 28, 1894 (*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, January-June, 1898).

² It was preceded by *A Grammar of the Spanish Language, with a History of the Language and Practical Exercises*, by M. Schele de Vere, of the University of Virginia, Appleton, 1870.

was an assiduous collector of literary and philological works in, and relating to, Spanish, and, at the time of his retirement from academic life, had brought together a large library, which, with the possible exception of the Ticknor collection at Boston, was then without equal in the United States.³ Thanks to his fine discrimination, old and rare books in Spanish advanced considerably in price during the eighties.—An enthusiastic devotee of French culture was Professor Jules Luquiens, a highly proficient critic and scholar. His love for France as well as his appreciation of her literature were imparted to every student who came under the spell of his enthusiasm. He and his colleague, Professor Edward Benson Coe, later for a number of years pastor of the Collegiate Reformed Church in New York City, deserve credit for having assisted in elevating the standards of the teaching of literature. In our active present-day life some of us have an unfortunate tendency to overlook the contribution of modest scholars like these, to whom we owe a debt of gratitude for their influence—largely confined to the classroom, it is true—in developing a broader and more humanistic appreciation of foreign literatures. Since their epoch the Department of Romance Languages at Yale University has characteristically endeavored to uphold these fine traditions, as well as to promote scholarship in the best sense of the word.

The first candidate for the doctorate at Yale University was Miss Cornelia H. B. Rogers, who received the degree in 1894. Since that date eighteen persons have been honored with the title of doctor of philosophy at New Haven. Of these, two are deceased: Miss Rogers, who passed away in 1907, and Dr. Louis Selbert, instructor in Romance Languages at the University of Missouri, whose sad death occurred in November, 1918. Among the other recipients of the degree six are professors of Romance Languages, one a professor of German, one associate professor of Romance Languages, six assistant professors, and three instructors. The institutions thus represented number eleven in all, and are as follows (the figure in parenthesis indicates the number of doctors of philosophy of the Yale Romance Department on the faculty of the

³ It became the nucleus of the incomparably rich collections of the Hispanic Society of America in New York.

institution mentioned): Catholic University at Washington (1); Oberlin College (1); Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. (1); University of Illinois (1); University of Kansas (1); University of Michigan (1); University of Pennsylvania (1); Vassar College (1); Western Reserve University (1); Williams College (2); Yale University (6).

Of the dissertations nine have been published, while ten are as yet inedited. But according to a rule passed by the faculty of the University in 1915, every dissertation submitted for the doctorate, or at least a summary of it, must be published. The average length of the published dissertations is 88 pages, the longest containing 200 pages and the shortest 36 pages.

In regard to the subjects treated, the following general classification may suffice: Old French (5); French Literature (2); Old Spanish Literature and Philology (5); Spanish Syntax and Literature (3); Old Italian (1); Italian Philology (1); Italian Poetry (2).

Regarding the manner of publication of the dissertations, it may be said that four were privately printed, two appeared in the *Revue Hispanique*, two in the *Romanische Forschungen*, and one in the *ROMANIC REVIEW*.

DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS

1894 †Rogers, Cornelia Hephzibah Bulkley, Ph.D.

Sinalefa, sinéresis é hiato en los romances del Cid. (Unpublished.)

Instructor in French and Italian, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y., until 1903.

† Deceased.

1898 Dunn, John Joseph, Ph.D.

Vocabulary to the Orlando Furioso of Ariosto, cantos 1-3. (Unpublished.)

Professor of Celtic Languages and Literatures, and Lecturer in Romance Languages, Catholic University, Washington, D. C.

1900 Taylor, Robert Longley, Ph.D.

Alliteration in Italian. Published by The Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor Co., New Haven, Conn., 1900, pp. 151.

- Professor of Romance Languages, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.
- 1901 Whitney, Marian Parker, Ph.D.
The Young King and largesse. A study in medieval manners. (Unpublished.)
Professor of German, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
- 1902 Wagner, Charles Philip, Ph.D.
The sources of El Cavallero Cifar. Published in slightly different form, in the *Revue Hispanique*, 1903, x, pp. 5-104.
Professor of Romance Languages, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
- 1904 Galpin, Stanley Leman, Ph.D.
Cortois and vilain as conceived by the French and Provençal poets of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. Published as "Cortois and vilain: a study of the distinctions made between them by the French and Provençal poets of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries," Ryder's Printing House, New Haven, Conn., 1905, pp. 104.
Professor of Romance Languages, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.
- 1904 Garver, Milton Stahl, Ph.D.
Sources of the allusions to animals in the Italian lyric of the thirteenth century. Published as "Sources of the beast similes in the Italian lyric of the thirteenth century," in *Romanische Forschungen*, Erlangen, 1908, xxi, pp. 276-320.
Instructor in French, Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University.
- 1905 Carnahan, David Hobart, Ph.D.
The prologue in the Old French and Provençal mystery. Published by The Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor Co., New Haven, Conn., 1905, pp. 200.
Professor of Romance Languages, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.

- 1905 Luquiens, Frederick Bliss, Ph.D.
The Roman de la Rose and medieval Castilian literature.
Published in the *Romanische Forschungen*, Erlangen,
1907, xx, pp. 284-320.
Professor of Spanish, Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University.
- 1907 Staaf, Oscar Emil, Ph.D.
Classical mythology in Calderón. (Unpublished.)
Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Adelbert College, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio.
- 1909 Rice, John Pierrepont, Ph.D.
A critical edition of the Bestiary and Lapidary from the Acerba of Cecco d'Ascoli. (Unpublished.)
Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.
- 1911 Hill, Raymond Thompson, Ph.D.
La Mule sanz Frain: an Arthurian romance by Paiens de Maisières, edited with introduction, notes, and glossary.
Published by J. H. Furst Co., Baltimore, 1911, pp. 71.
Assistant Professor of French, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
- 1913 Neuenschwander, Elise, Ph.D.
Influence of Villon on Voltaire. (Unpublished.)
Associate Professor of Romance Languages, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan.
- 1914 Corley, Ames Haven, Ph.D.
A study in the word-play in Cervantes' Don Quixote. Published in the *Revue Hispanique*, 1917, xl, pp. 40.
Assistant Professor of Spanish, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
- 1915 Anderson, Frederick, Ph.D.
The literary experience of the Agricola. (Unpublished.)
Instructor in Spanish and Italian, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
- 1915 DeForest, John Bellows, Ph.D.
Old French borrowed words in Old Spanish of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries with special reference to the Cid,

Berceo's poems, the Alexandre, and Fernán Gonzalez.
Published in the *ROMANIC REVIEW*, 1916, vii, pp. 369-413.
Assistant Professor of French, Oberlin College, Oberlin,
Ohio.

1915 Seronde, Joseph, Ph.D.

A study of the relations of some leading French poets of the
fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to the Marqués de San-
tillana. (Unpublished.)

Assistant Professor of French, University of Pennsylvania,
Philadelphia, Pa.

1916 †Selbert, Louis, Ph.D.

A glossary of Juan Manuel's *El Libro de los Enxiemplos del
Conde Lucanor et de Patronio*. (Unpublished.)

Instructor in Romance Languages, University of Missouri,
Columbia, Mo.

† Deceased.

1918 Edgerly, Clifton T., Ph.D.

A vocabulary of the *Siete Partidas* of Alfonso X. (Unpub-
lished.)

Instructor in French, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

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NOTES ON THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY 'COMEDIA DE SEPÚLVEDA'

A COMEDIA without title was published in 1901¹ by Señor Cotarelo y Mori from a manuscript copy in the possession of Menéndez y Pelayo made by Gayangos from a manuscript dated at Seville, 1547. This old manuscript has disappeared, and another copy which, according to Barrera, was preserved at the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid, has suffered the same fate. To this play Cotarelo gave the title *Comedia de Sepúlveda* from the name of the author mentioned in the prologue.

The play is a rather complicated comedy of intrigue. It consists of four acts in prose and is introduced by a prologue in which two friends are represented as discussing the play and its author before entering the theatre, and in the course of their conversation a summary of the plot is given.

Violante, a young girl of great beauty and discretion, shuns the attentions of men. She is courted unsuccessfully by two youths, Alarcón, who neglects his studies and tries to win her heart through the intermediation of his page Salazar, and by Osorio, who has enlisted in his service López, Violante's maid. Salazar is really a young girl, Florencia de Figueroa, who is in love with Alarcón. Grief-stricken by his disdain, she had sought refuge in a convent and then disappeared; and her parents believed her dead. In reality, like Lelia in *GIIngannati*, she had adopted masculine attire and taken service as page with Alarcón. Natera, Violante's father, a ridiculous old man, believes that Salazar is really a woman and lays plans to win her love with the aid of Parrado, a resourceful lackey who is willing to appear to encourage the old man's pretensions in return for generous payment. Parrado enlists the aid of a necromancer Maestro Guillermo, who gives Natera a stone supposed to have the virtue of making its possessor invisible and who promises to bring the page to his arms. The solution of this conflict of interests is reached in the fourth act. Montalbo, Alarcón's father, arrives in Seville in search of his wayward son and meets his old friend Figueroa. Salazar tries to excuse the conduct of Alarcón

¹ *Revista española de literatura, historia y arte*, Vol. I, p. 79, Madrid, 1901.

in his father's eyes, describing his infatuation for Violante and explaining that the latter is really not the daughter of Natera, who had found her crying in the woods near a burning house sixteen years before and had brought her to his own home. Montalbo recognizes from this description that Violante is his long lost daughter and informs Alarcón that the girl is his sister. They set out for Violante's house and are startled by hearing cries of help from Violante and Natera, for at that moment Osorio was attempting to abduct the girl. The abductor is intercepted and is recognized by his father, Figueroa. Montalbo explains to Natera that Violante is his daughter. Salazar then, in turn, reveals her own identity to Figueroa, her father. Thus each father recovers a daughter believed to be dead. The marriage of Violante and Osorio is forthwith arranged and also the marriage of Alarcón and Florencia-Salazar.

In the brief introduction to his edition, Señor Cotarelo says with respect to the sources, that a considerable part of this play, especially the scenes related to the necromancer, is derived from Ariosto's *Il Negromante*, and that the indebtedness is still greater to Niccolò Secchi's *GPInganni* which has virtually the same plot as Sepúlveda's play and from which certain passages are translated almost literally. The Spanish play has in common with *Il Negromante* only the figure of the necromancer, found in many other Italian comedies of the sixteenth century. With respect to *GPInganni*, Cotarelo was deceived by the fact that in both plays a young girl serves her lover disguised as page. Aside from this, the plays are quite dissimilar. There is also a chronological objection to any relationship if the date of 1547 on the manuscript of Sepúlveda's play is correct, since *GPInganni* was first performed at Milan in 1549 and was not published until 1562.² In reality, Sepúlveda's *comedia* is a close adaptation of *Il Viluppo*, a play by the well known Italian dramatist and novelist, Girolamo Parabosco, first published at Venice in 1547.³

Except for certain additions made by Sepúlveda (which will be discussed later), the prologues of the two plays agree. The reduc-

² Ireneo Sanesi, *La Commedia*, Milan, 1911, p. 477.

³ See *Annali di Gabriel Giolito de'Ferrari*, Vol. I, Rome, 1890, p. 147. Through the courtesy of the Harvard University Library, I have been able to see an edition of *Il Viluppo* published at Venice in 1586. A long analysis of this play is given by Klein, *Geschichte des Dramas*, Vol. IV, Leipzig, 1866, 785 ff.

tion of the five acts of *Il Viluppo* to four involved changes in arrangement, particularly in the third act, but in general the order of scenes was retained and most of them are close translations of the Italian text. Unlike Lope de Rueda in his adaptations of Italian comedies, Sepúlveda introduced no new comic scenes. He added no new characters and suppressed only one important one, the bawd Colombina, who consents to deliver a letter from Valerio into the hands of Sofonisba, a mission that is performed more naturally by the page Salazar in the Spanish version. With this single exception, the chief characters completely correspond: Sofonisba and her servants Corona and Viluppo with Violante, López and Parrado; the love-sick page Brunetto and her master Valerio with Salazar and Alarcón; the lover Orsino with Osorio; the ridiculous Leggiero with Natera; the fathers Sempronio and Erasmo with Figueroa and Montalbo; the necromancer Trappola and his wife Bianca with Guillermo and Pérez; Rustico, Corona's suitor, with Ramón. Not only does the main action of the two plays closely agree, but also the incidental scenes such as the trick played by the necromancer in making Leggiero (Natera) believe himself invisible while carrying the magic stone and the trick played by Viluppo (Parrado) upon the necromancer in making his wife believe that he has been guilty of misconduct.

In spite of the fact that the two versions show so close a relationship, it is evident that Sepúlveda dealt with his Italian original in a critical spirit and that he possessed real dramatic sense. He showed good taste in omitting certain unnecessary monologues and in suppressing the scenes in which the bawd Colombina appears. He also rearranged the scenes of the last act. In the Italian play, both Valerio and Orsino plan to abduct Sofonisba from her home at the same hour. Valerio arrives first on the scene and the cries of Sofonisba, and of her father and mother, bring Orsino to their aid. Erasmo recognizes his son, Valerio, as the abductor. While trying to make apologies for his son's conduct, Erasmo learns from Dorothea (who does not appear in the Spanish version) that she is not Sofonisba's mother, but that the girl had been found at the age of two years near a burning house and had been adopted by her as a daughter. From this description Erasmo identifies Sofonisba as

his daughter. Valerio is overjoyed to recover his sister and says that if only Cornelia were alive he would gladly marry her. Thereupon his page Brunetto reveals herself as the missing Cornelia. In the Spanish play the *dénouement* is brought about more skilfully. The page Salazar, while trying to justify Alarcón in his father's eyes, describes an incident of Violante's early life in such a way that Montalbo recognizes her as his daughter. This identification gives a tragic note for a time to the abduction scene. The disclosure of Salazar's identity to her father as well as to her lover also makes the final scene more effective than in the Italian version.

The prologue of the Spanish play contains certain original material which gives us information concerning the author. In the dialogue between two friends, Becerra and Escobar, as they stand outside of the theatre, the author of the play is spoken of as a certain Sepúlveda, "un escribano de buen entendimiento." Perhaps as a dramatist he had been obliged to suffer the impertinences of shallow-minded snobs similar to those mentioned in the text,

los cuales con haber hecho dos coplas mal trovados o zorcidas y otros habiendo imprimido dos sonetos o tercias rimas de Boscán, y otros por que declaran dos versos de *Orlando* en toscano de manera que la madre que los pario no los entendera, tienen por costumbre muy importante de burlar de cuantas cosas ven imponiendolas mil objetos, haciendo de jueces y determinando por sola su opinion; los cuales estan tan enamorados de su entendimiento que qualquier obra que ven que no viene a su medida, la despachan por disparate.

In the closing lines of this play, Parrado expresses his amazement over the incidents of the evening, and remarks: "Aunque micer Antonio quisiera inventar alguna comedia, no pudiera fingir lo que aqui se ha visto," which may be a playful allusion to the author.⁴

The prologue also contains a defense of the art of play-writing and a very interesting tribute to the excellence of Italian comedy.

Pues en nuestro tiempo mirad la estimacion en que esta tenido en toda Italia el Ariosto que casi tienen por pecado nombrarlo en vano: pues entre sus obras hallamos muchas comedias suyas no en

⁴ There is no evidence that the author was Lorenzo de Sepúlveda, as was suggested by Cotarelo.

poco tenidas. Y sin este, que diremos de Pietro Aretino a quien por la excelencia de su juicio tienen por epíteto en su nombre el Divino? Pues notorio es que lo principal de sus obras son las comedias que hizo. Y por no alargarme mas, quiero concluir que hoy día en Italia que es la madre de los buenos y delicados juizios que hay en nuestros tiempos, no hay cosa que en tanto tengan como el componer un poema destes con el lustre y perfeccion que se requiere.

The author's motive for writing plays is

exercitar el entendimiento y ofrecer este y otros semejantes trabajos a los de su patria y para que tengan entendido que en ella no faltan personas porque en esta profesion no puedan ganar premio con las extrañas contendiendo en semejante materia con ellos.

The prologue is also interesting because it contains the earliest Spanish reference with which I am acquainted to the doctrine of dramatic unity of time. After outlining the incidents upon which the play is based, Becerra says:

desde aqui comienza la comedia porque como el primor destas comedias es que parezca que pasa en un día para acabarse, porque no se puede fingir noche, ni otro día, no pudiera intervenir todo esto ni tornarse tan atras sin que fuera la fabula de Orestes.

Here the author seems to declare that the action of a play must be limited, not to twenty-four hours but to twelve hours, a theory said to have been first stated by Robortelli in 1548.⁵ The prologue also contains one of the earliest recorded uses of the term *entremés* as synonymous with *passo*. Escobar asks Becerra to tell him the plot so that he may save the five or six hours required to see the play, and Becerra replies:

No os puede dar gusto el sujeto ansi desnudo de aquella gracia con que el proceso dél suelen ornar los recitantes y otros muchos entremeses que intervienen por ornamento de la comedia, que no tienen cuerpo en el sujeto della.

⁵ J. E. Spingarn, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*, New York, 1899, pp. 91-92. This is the only internal evidence I have found which would date the play later than 1547, and this evidence does not seem to me conclusive. I do not know on what evidence Cotarelo ascribes to this play the date 1580 in his *Colección de entremeses, loas, bailes, jácaras y mojigangas*, Tomo I, Vol. I, Madrid, 1911, p. xiii.

The author's acquaintance with Latin authors, classical mythology and the writings of certain of the Church Fathers is proven by many quotations and references throughout the play. In one amusing scene, he criticizes the superficiality of Greek studies at that time, which may imply some knowledge of that language. In the first act, the necromancer tells Parrado that he has with him a woman who has within her a legion of spirits of all nations who can be summoned at will. He wittily explains the habitat of the spirits of each nation and states that the Greek spirits are located in her tongue. Parrado remarks:

A fe que teneis la mayor razon del mundo ; pero pocos los entenderan en esta ciudad, aunque muchos han procurado aprender dos nominativos de lo griego y saben conocer los caracteres de las letras, y con esto se quedan ya hechos griegos.

The necromancer replies:

No, que algunos medicos hay aqui que les veo traer en la fra-tiguera unos libros griegos portatiles, y en las disputas y conferencias que tienen de decir algunas palabras en griego, con tal acento y pronunciacion las dicen, que los diablos, que estan en la mujer, que os digo que no las entenderan.

Sepúlveda knew thoroughly the resources of the Spanish language and his prose is equalled by few writers of the middle of the sixteenth century. It is characterized by the dignity and sobriety which we recognize as the fruit of classical studies, and yet shows a thorough knowledge and mastery of the colloquial language at its best. The dialogue is graceful, distinguished, and at times witty and never degenerates into the nonsense which mars so many plays of his time. With respect to style and dramatic construction, this *comedia* is vastly superior to any of the plays of Timoneda or Alonso de la Vega, and it is not surpassed, in my opinion, by any play of Lope de Rueda. Both because of its intrinsic merit and as the earliest adaptation of an Italian comedy in Spain to which a date can be assigned, this *comedia* deserves to be better known.

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MISCELLANEOUS

THE LEGEND OF KING RAMIRO

ONE of the most notable historical pictures of the Spanish artist, Don José Casado, is that representing King Ramiro in a partly underground room, surrounded by the gory heads of recent victims of royal vengeance, arranged in a circle, while one dripping head is suspended from a ring in one of the arches. The full significance of the painting is not apparent, obviously, without a knowledge of the sanguinary legend which it illustrates, and which furnishes the subject of the culminating scene of Lope de Vega's *La Campana de Aragon*, but perhaps neither legend or play is so generally known as to make re-telling superfluous.

Ramiro apparently was not destined for the throne. He was a younger son of Sancho, king of Aragon and Navarre, and, as was often the case with younger sons, he entered the Church, taking the cowl at the monastery of San Ponce de Tomer, which was on his account richly endowed with lands. Sancho died in 1094, and was succeeded by his eldest son Pedro, who, after a reign of ten years, was in turn succeeded by his younger brother Alfonso. Alfonso was well fitted to rule in those times of almost constant war, and he fairly gained the name of *Batallador* in twenty-nine battles, in which he was generally the victor. But fortune at last went against him. He had laid siege to Fraga, that pleasant town famous for its delicious small figs, which was then in possession of the Moors. There had been hard fighting there when the enemy received reinforcements, and Alfonso, fearing still greater dangers, set out with a company of three hundred horsemen to raise more troops to carry on the siege. On the 7th of September, 1134, when he was in the vicinity of Sariñena, he was surrounded by a great number of the enemy. His splendid arms and the courage which he displayed made him conspicuous, and the Moors directed their blows against him so well that he was killed, and his death decided the fate of the battle, for his followers were either killed or put to

flight. The king's body could not be found afterwards, and this gave rise to the stories usual in such cases. It was reported that he had not really died, but that, tired of living after the loss of the battle, he had gone on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Probably this idea was suggested by the disposition which he wished to make of the kingdom. At all events, Alfonso disappeared, and the throne was left vacant, as he had no sons. In his will it was found that he had bequeathed all his estates to the Templars, the Hospitalers, and those who guarded the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. This arrangement was not acceptable to the Aragonese and Navarrese, and undeterred by the maledictions expressed in this will against those who should attempt to change it they met at Borgia to elect a king. Their choice would probably have fallen on the lord of the city, Don Pedro de Atarés, who was of noble and perhaps royal descent, but he was so imprudent as to offend many of the nobles by a premature assumption of royal pride and arrogance, and the council dispersed without concluding anything. Then the Navarrese, always impatient of the rule of Aragon, held a council of their own at Pamplona, and elected as their king García Ramirez, a descendant of their former independent sovereigns. Don Guillén Aznarez de Oteiza and Don Fortuño Iñiguez de Leet, two lords of the most authority in the council, were dispatched on the important mission of informing the new king of his election. García was equal to the occasion, and Navarre, by her quick action at the critical moment, regained her dearly-loved independence.

The Aragonese, on their side, assembled in Monzon and declared the long forgotten Ramiro king. More than forty years of monastic life had not quenched all the worldly spirit in Ramiro, nor had his ambition been satisfied by his advancement in the Church, where he had risen to be bishop of Roda and Barbastro. For, as early as the October following his brother's death, he called himself king; and this fact, and the desire of avoiding the war which might result if Ramiro's claims were opposed, confirmed an election which his relationship to the dead monarch made only natural.

Ramiro's age and training, and, above all, his character, were not such as to command success at a time when the qualities of a soldier were most required in a king. But unfortunately incapacity

for ruling is not always accompanied by unwillingness to make the hazardous experiment. Ramiro was at once involved in wars with Navarre and Castile, and acquitted himself with so little credit that it was commonly reported that he held the reins of his horse in his teeth, since his left arm was occupied with the shield, and his right with the lance. Such unskillfulness naturally excited the derision of the fighting Aragonese; Ramiro received the nickname of *rey Cogulla* (king Cow), and was held in slight esteem by the people. Perplexed by all the difficulties of government, Ramiro turned for counsel to his old master Fray Frocaldo, abbot of Tomer. The advice the latter gave can scarcely be considered good from a political point of view, and certainly it was indefensible morally. It seemed to appeal to Ramiro nevertheless, for it is not unfair to conclude that he possessed the cruel and treacherous qualities so often found in weak characters. The first step which he took was to summon Cortes at the city of Huesca, declaring that he wished to treat of very important affairs and that he had need of making a bell which should be heard in all the kingdom. Five members of the powerful family of Luna were among those who came with other nobles who had taken chief part in the disorders which threatened Ramiro's rule. They assembled in the building which later was used as a University, laughing at the idea of the bell which their despised king wished to make, and wondering what he could have in mind. This they learned to their sorrow.

In the ancient building just mentioned there is a narrow staircase leading to a partly subterranean room with a high vaulted ceiling formed by two great crossed arches. The room is oval in form; its darkened walls show the great stones of which they are made by the light of two windows the embrasures of which narrow to mere cracks on the outside, besides which there are two others—one at either end of the room—that have been walled up. This gloomy apartment bears the name of *campana* (the bell), in memory of the frightful tragedy which every inhabitant of Huesca can tell.

On the appointed day when the proud Aragonese nobles gathered, and were gaily discussing the probable plans of Ramiro, fifteen were summoned, one by one, to descend the narrow stairs to that sinister room, to find themselves in the presence of a confessor and an executioner. Fifteen times the axe fell on the block, and fifteen

bleeding heads were arranged in a circle to form as it were the outer edge of a bell. Finally, when a sixteenth was summoned (ignorant, as the rest had been, of the fate of those who had preceded him), he was told that his head was to be the clapper of the bell, and it was suspended from the ring which yet remains in the center of the arches.

The rest of the assembled nobles escaped, either guessing the danger or protected by their insignificance.

The only answer which Frocaldo had given to the messenger whom Ramiro sent, was to take him into the garden of the monastery and there to cut off the heads of the tallest flowers. Ramiro caught the idea; perhaps he and the abbot had in mind the stories told of Periander, tyrant of Corinth, and of Sextus Tarquinius, whose appeals for advice in political troubles had met with similar answers, interpreted as admonitions to kill the most powerful.

Some say that Ramiro was much revered after this display of force. In any case, governing did not become so easy that he wished to continue the attempt. On emerging from the monastery he had received a dispensation to marry, and had taken as his wife Doña Inés, sister of the count of Poitiers and Guienne. A daughter, Petronila, was born to him, and in 1137, the year after the tragedy, he arranged a marriage for the baby princess with the Count of Barcelona, Don Ramon Berenguer, a brave and energetic prince. This alliance with the most powerful ruler of Catalonia greatly strengthened Aragon, and Ramiro retired to end his days in the church of San Pedro de Huesca. Royal honors had not lost all their charms for him, since, on handing over the actual government to Count Ramon he reserved for himself the title of king and the right of using his authority at any time he might wish. This right he very rarely exercised, and the quiet of the cloister seems to have been almost unbroken, unless indeed the echos of that sanguinary bell sometimes mingled with the chimes of the church and brought back to Ramiro the recollection of a short and turbulent reign which formed so incongruous a contrast to the rest of a life spent avowedly in religious peace.

A curious old epitaph gives a monastic view of the strange vicissitudes of his career:

Aquí descansa el fatigado Don Ramiro, Infante, Monge, Sacerdote, Abad, Obispo, Rey, Marido, Padre, Divorciado, Recogido. Todo, y Nada. Tres vezes Ilustre, quando otras tantas huyó de el mundo, para ser Religioso: y tres vezes obscuro, quando se dexó hallar para Obispo, Rey, y Marido. Dexó de ser Monge, y no supo ser Rey; mas trocó la vida de Rey en la muerte de Monge. Caminante, passa de largo, pues no puedes saber mas, si has aprendido ya, que es menos ser Todo, que ser Nada.

Ramiro died at the age of sixty-three, August 16th, 1147.

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REVIEWS

The Mystic Vision in the Grail Legend and in the Divine Comedy. By Lizette Andrews Fisher, Ph.D. Columbia University Press, 1917. 8vo, pp. xi, 148.

This interesting study may possibly arouse adverse criticism inasmuch as the author has sought to shift the investigation of the thorny question of the Grail to a point of vantage which, however doubtful it may appear to some, provides us with a new and most satisfactory outlook. In the discussion of this mooted question it is difficult to understand why scholars, thoroughly aware of the paramount rôle played by the Church in the Middle Ages, have not given more serious attention to the possibility of ecclesiastical or liturgical influence. Although the text has been carefully sifted and the problem has been approached from many angles—the very extensive bibliography of the Grail is sufficient evidence of that—yet this important aspect has been almost entirely neglected. But after all is said and done, theology, considered in its broadest sense, towers above all else in this great epoch, and to neglect consideration of its influence would be indeed a serious mistake of present-day scholarship. And even when it is impossible to overlook such influence there is at times an unfortunate tendency to read modern Catholic—or, for that matter, modern Protestant—ideas of reverence into the church literature of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The attitude of the medieval man toward religion can perhaps best be compared to that of the Hindu, who, by long practice in the art of inner living, attains to a conception of it utterly foreign to occidentals. To the medieval man the Bible itself was an allegory connected by a tenuous symbolism with the routine of life. In fact it was through the Bible alone that his state of being could be interpreted, and symbolism was the usual and perhaps the sole means to that end. To appreciate the extent to which symbols, emblems and allegory were resorted to in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, we need only turn to certain literary productions which are replete with evidence of this sort, such as, for example, the very popular *Rationale* of Durandus, Bishop of Mende from 1286 to 1296, of which the complicated allegory is almost incomprehensible to us. As pendants of such works we have in the following centuries a succession of allegorical and symbolical productions the very multiplication of which is a testimony to their great popularity. And even in the sixteenth century the obscure and quintessential symbolism of the poems of Maurice Scève and Margaret of Navarre as well as that of the allegorical romance of Barthélemy Aneau, the *Alector*—which is still an unsolved enigma—also hark back to the theological symbolism of the earlier periods. Is it possible, we may ask, ever to arrive at a thorough understanding of the mysticism of, say, a Santa Teresa without entering into the spirit of the ages of which she—and almost all the other mystics—is a product? It is therefore obvious that the great dynamic force of the wonderful epoch to which Miss Fisher devotes her attention was theology, from which everything radiated. Indeed almost every branch of knowledge was considered as an *ancilla theologiae*.

Hence, to know God was, as Dr. Fisher states, "the chief end and aim of

existence (p. 3)," not only for the purpose of escaping damnation and securing salvation, but above all in order to attain to spiritual blessedness, the complete *nirvana* for the medieval devotee. Jean Parmentier, a French poet and navigator of the early sixteenth century, defends his curiosity or search for the unknown, whether in the sea, in the air or on the land, against the attacks of the decadent theologians of his time who suspected him of heresy, by stating that all nature is but a spiritual manifestation of God. Therefore the more thoroughly one knows the mysteries of nature the better is one able to understand and worship God, for this more perfect knowledge gives one, in the words of Dr. Fisher, the power "to realize absolute truth and to taste absolute blessedness."¹

In regard to the rivalry between the British church and the Roman church in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it must be acknowledged that Miss Fisher has failed to state the case as clearly as she might have done.² This rivalry was more constructive than destructive; it was due to their mutual desire to surpass one another. In earlier times we find the same rivalry between the Celtic and the Roman church, and, likewise, in later centuries, between the Gallican and the Roman church, but in neither case was there any thought of separation.

So during the fifty years when the Grail cycle was in process of production (1170-1220) two all-important questions, that had often aroused lengthy and heated discussions, were settled by the Council of 1215, viz., (1) the *moment* of Consecration in the mass was determined by the introduction of the Elevation and consequent adoration at a particular point of the service, and (2) the *effect* was established by the definition of Transubstantiation³. It is therefore but natural that these questions, absorbing as they did the attention of the public, should occupy a preponderant place in contemporary literature. In regard to

¹ P. 3. The German mystics of the fourteenth century, Eckart, Suso, Tauler and Ruysbroeck (of whom the latter has inspired the modern mystic Maeterlinck) taught the same doctrine.

² Here one must definitely understand that at no time was there really a question of schism. Even when Luther took the step, leaders in this movement in France, such as Lefèvre d'Etaples and others, refused to follow him, not, as has often been thought, because they were timid and therefore lacked the necessary courage, but because they believed, as did their predecessors, that the reformation of the church should come from within and not from without. Later on in the sixteenth century, when Cardinals du Bellay and de Joyeuse were sent to Rome on special missions, it was not for the purpose of establishing a new church—for no Catholic in France desired to emulate or join the Protestant movement—but merely to defend the independence of the Gallican church against the perpetual encroachments of the Italian or, better, Roman church. And this was equally true of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, for the Albigeois—against whom Innocent III ordered a crusade in 1209—suffered not so much on account of their doctrine as from the fear engendered by their separatist tendencies. For an account of the mission of Cardinal de Joyeuse, see J. L. Gerig, *Un Toulouse au XVII^e siècle: Paul de Catel*, Les Annales du Midi, xix, 1907, pp. 373-388.

³ Cf. Jenner, *St. Joseph of Arimathea as the Apostle of Britain*.

the various Arthurian romances, Jenner has well said that "the great Eucharistic allegory of the Holy Grail, which is only accidentally Arthurian, and whatever there may be of pre-Christian elements in its symbolism . . . is really only the answer of romantic and popular Christendom to the teaching of Berengarius, as the definition of the Fourth Lateran Council was the answer of the theologians."⁴

According to the Greeks consecration was effected by the *epiklesis*, or invocation of the Holy Ghost, while the Latins maintained that it was by the words of Institution. In the Church services the Latin theory was emphasized by the introduction, at the close of the twelfth century, of the elevation after the consecration of each species, instead of an elevation of both species together at the end of the whole Prayer. The last still remains in a slight elevation ("elevans parum calicem cum hostia") just before the Pater Noster. In the Eastern rites it is a more important ceremony and comes after the Pater Noster and before the Fraction. Josephes, son of Joseph of Arimathea, consecrated the first Eucharist after his ordination (*Grand St. Graal*) by using Christ's words only. The other controversy was settled at the Council of Lateran in 1215; and soon after this no more Grail books were written.⁵

It is needless to emphasize further the intimate connection between the Grail story and the theological problems mentioned above. Suffice it to say that thus far mere textual criticism has failed to shed light on many elusive, though very important, problems of this most interesting romance. The number of theories, most of which are based on the individual critic's interpretation of the text, are almost endless; and verbal jousts and controversies—alas! too often of an acrimonious nature!—have raged for years. But notwithstanding the multiplication of studies devoted to the Grail, little attempt has been made to approach the question from the point of view of the theology of the period. And in order to arrive at an understanding of the attitude of those interested in religion at that time—and who did not feel vitally concerned?—it is necessary to study thoroughly the early history of the Church and its problems. Miss Fisher's dissertation, therefore, is an important contribution. While she makes no claim of completely elucidating so vast a problem (and it is scarcely fair to expect so much of a doctoral dissertation), she, like the distinguished Celtist mentioned frequently above, is a pioneer, in that she has helped to indicate the way for further researches.

⁴ Jenner, *Some possible Arthurian Place-Names in West Pennith*, Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, 1912.

⁵ In the *Report of the Royal Cornwall Polytechnic Society*, 1914, Mr. Jenner calls attention to the description of the Grail as given in Peredur which is *dydysgyl vaur a phenn gur yn y ddysgyl a guded yn amyl yn y gylch*, or "a large dish with a man's head in it, with blood surrounding it." From which he concludes that "the grail was not a Celtic 'food-producing' talisman, but the Eucharistic Grail in a highly cryptic, but generally accepted symbol." For the connection of John the Baptist with the Grail story see the Gawain incident of the sword. For alabaster tablets in the chapel of St. Michael's Mount, see Jenner, *ibid.*; and Sir Wm. St. J. Hope, *Archaeologia*, published by the Society of Antiquaries, London, vol. 52, pt. 2.

One of the most potent impressions one receives on reading the Grail is that the various ceremonies described therein form a system of ritual thoroughly comprehensible to those who lived at the time when the great romance was composed. Otherwise, it may be asked, how can we explain its extraordinary popularity? The medieval reader not only appreciated its mystic signification, but divined the relation with the ritual of his own Church. Thus, the procession seems to suggest the Great Entrance at the time of the offertory, which has been preserved in the Greek rite. St. Germanus of Paris in the sixth century mentions a similar procession as commonly used in Gaul. Miss Fisher calls attention to the "relation of the Grail ritual to the ritual of the Christian church, especially to that of the Eastern branch" (p. 39), to which may be added, what Jenner has remarked, that though it is promised Joseph that no mass shall be said without mention of what he had done for the body of our Lord, the only mass that does so is the Byzantine, where the bread and wine are laid on the altar with the following words:

ὁ εὐσχήμων Ἰωσήφ, ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου καθελὼν τὸ ἀχραστὸν σου σῶμα, σινδόνι καθαρῶ ἐλθὼν καὶ ἀρώμασιν ἐν μυστηρίῳ κηδεύσας ἀπέθετο.

Though it is needless to multiply examples, we may add that in the northern part of France there still persist in the ritual of the Church usages that go back to pre-Christian, or Celtic, times. This adaptation of certain pagan forms by the early Celtic (or British) church naturally brought about slight differences of custom from that practised at Rome. And these differences were somewhat emphasized when the Celtic church was separated from the rest of the Christian world as a consequence of the Saxon invasion. But there was no difference of doctrine; and at no time was there any idea of a church independent of Rome.⁶

Regarding the various usages connected with the mass mentioned on p. 51, Jenner has called attention to the fact that there was no Oriental influence in the Celtic and Hispano-Gallican rites. In fact, intercourse between the various parts of the Roman Empire to the end of the fourth century was so complete that it is difficult to distinguish the Oriental from the non-Oriental.⁷

Concerning the *form* of the Grail it may be of interest to note that the "Sacro Catino" in the Cathedral Treasury at Genoa, which was said to have been brought from Caesarea in 1101, is claimed by that chapter to be the bread dish of the Last Supper. It is an antique green glass vessel, too wide and shallow for a cup. Again, the Santo Calix, now at Valencia, Spain, is held to be the cup of the Last Supper. It is carved from a single sardonyx. This vessel was once at San Juan de la Peña in Aragon, the former burial place of the kings of

⁶ It is interesting to note in this connection that missionaries from Ireland brought in the monastic form of Christianity, founded on the Gallic monasticism of the school of St. Martin, St. Germanus, St. Honoratus and the Lérins monks, which was modified by adaptation to the Celtic tribal system. Cf. H. Moris, *L'Abbaye de Lérins*, Paris, 1909; Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. lxxii, 92, etc.

⁷ For a statement of the various theories regarding the mass see the following articles by Jenner in the Catholic Encyclopaedia: *Ambrosian Rite*; *Celtic Rite*; *Gallican Rite*; and *Mozarabic Rite*.

Aragon, not far from Monserrat. This Jenner—and he is probably correct—believes to be the Monsalvatsch of Wolfram.

On p. 60 Miss Fisher adduces a most interesting use of the word *ciborium* in Bavaria, where it seems to have meant "a portable altar, or altar stone." This explanation of Wolfram's Grail stone appears to be important. In a report to the Royal Institution of Cornwall in 1918, Jenner stated that in many places, notably in England and France, the receptacle of the reserved Sacrament was in the form of a dove, which was suspended over the Altar—the "Hanging Pyx," as it was called. It seems to have been the English practice, according to this same authority—and this may have been the Bavarian practice also—to put the Presanctified Host into the Hanging Pyx on Maundy Thursday. The pulling down of this dove-tabernacle, which hung with a pulley and a balancing weight, might have suggested to Wolfram the notion of the dove descending from Heaven with the Host. It is even possible, suggests Jenner, that Wolfram's authority, Kiot, used the word *ciborium* in its usual sense for the Grail, and Wolfram mistook Kiot's meaning. In England, France and parts of Germany, continues the same scholar, there was in later times a third Host consecrated on Maundy Thursday, which was solemnly "buried" in the Easter Sepulchre on Good Friday. The original idea had been a rather dramatic burial of the Rood, but about the thirteenth century the Host was added; and the ceremony became less dramatic and more devotional. In Bavaria and other parts of South Germany, in German Switzerland and in the Tyrol, the Easter Sepulchre ceremony is continued still; but the Rood has disappeared from it, and it is only the Blessed Sacrament that is used. In Freiburg Cathedral there is a "table-tomb" having on it a recumbent figure of the dead Christ, in the breast of which there is a cavity in which the Host is placed on Good Friday. Round the base are figures of the soldier-guards and angels in bas-relief.⁸

Finally, in the note on p. 65 Miss Fisher takes issue with Miss Weston (*Legend of Sir Perceval*, II, 232-3) regarding the meaning of the word "secret" as used in medieval liturgy. It may suffice to add thereto that in the Latin Liturgies there are three forms of voice: "magna voce," "clara voce" and "secrete," all of which refer to the tone. This meaning corresponds to that of the word *μυστικὸς* in the Greek liturgy.

In the second part of her dissertation—that relating to the Divine Comedy—Miss Fisher's arguments, though quite plausible, are not so convincing at first sight. Yet her interpretation enables us to project on the mystic Procession of the Purgatory all the spiritual light and beauty which, through direct experience or through literary reminiscences, our minds have come to associate with the *Corpus Domini* celebration. Enlivened by the forms and colors of the great Spring solemnity, the phases of the Dantesque pageantry, which some critics have judged to be abstract, dry and formalistic, acquire an intuitional directness, a concrete individuality, which the reader strives to find everywhere in Dante, in spite of, or rather because of, theological symbolism and philosophic disquisitions. For this is the miracle of Dante's art: to transform doctrinal sentences into refulgent images; to mould, color, and fire, the cold, thin, unsubstantial world of abstractions; to give life and compelling force to principles and dogmas, in

⁸ Cf. Jenner, *op. cit.*

such a way that logical concepts become elements of beauty, and the intuitions serve as arguments of truth.

Miss Fisher's theory gives us then a tentative interpretation pragmatically serviceable as a means of poetic appreciation. Is it possible to verify it in its synthesis or in any of its essential details by documentation? One can not venture to say so. One may feel confident, however, in asserting that in its systematic application to the allegorical interpretation of the last six cantos of the *Purgatory* there is nothing incompatible with the letter of the text, nor inwardly contradictory, nor averse to the allegorizing methods of Dante and of his contemporaries. Hence, Miss Fisher's interpretation may be accepted as an effort in the right direction.⁹ Perhaps improvements and radical changes may be suggested. Dante himself did not spurn plurality of interpretation; and we must give Miss Fisher the benefit of Dante's own criterion and apply to her explanation the words that the poet used for his auto-interpretation:

"Forse ancora per più sottile persona
Si vederebbe in ciò più sottile ragione;
Ma questa è quella che io ne veggio, e
Che più mi piace."

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Les Incipit des poèmes français antérieurs au xvi^e siècle. Répertoire bibliographique: établi à l'aide des notes de M. Paul Meyer, par Arthur Långfors. Paris: Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion. 1917. Vol. I, 8vo, pp. vii, 444.

Bibliographie sommaire des chansonniers français du moyen âge (manuscripts et éditions), par Alfred Jeanroy. Paris: Champion (Classiques Français du moyen âge), 1918, pp. viii, 79.

Bibliographie sommaire des chansonniers provençaux (manuscripts et éditions), par Alfred Jeanroy. Paris: Champion (Classiques Français du moyen âge), 1916, pp. viii, 89.

These works are precious as directing lights in the old French and Provençal literatures. In these books we have a complete description—or the reference for such a description—of all the early poems except the *chansons de geste* in two of the Romance tongues. The "chansonniers provençaux" were first listed by Bartsch in 1872 and the "chansonniers français" by Raynaud in 1884; these two recent works by Jeanroy, being based on such predecessors, are therefore about as perfect as time and scholarship can make them. Not only are all the manuscripts minutely described but all the chief editions are enumerated. One can see at a glance which of these are supplied with facsimiles and which are not so; and with facsimiles at our disposition even we on this side of the water are virtually as well off as we should be with the original manuscripts at our elbows.

⁹ It is interesting to observe that, thanks to a better comprehension of the spirit of the times, modern scholarship tends more and more to connect the Dantesque inspiration with the great literary and theological tendencies of the Celts of the north. How widely disseminated was the vision-literature before the day of the great Italian poet is shown by E. S. Boswell in his *An Irish Precursor of Dante* (i.e., Adamnan, the Irish saint), London, 1908.

With regard to the very much larger body of French poems exclusive of the *chansons de geste* and the lyrical poems described above by Jeanroy, Långfors has given us an exceedingly useful work. It is amazingly well done, notwithstanding the author's modest reservations. There are as yet, to be sure, no indexes or lists of any kind; these are to come with the second volume, on the poems of the fifteenth century. We have the *incipit* (usually of two lines), evidently as drawn up by Paul Meyer, accompanied by the tabulation of the manuscripts and by the indication of edition or editions (or the reference). All the various "incipits" of the poems are carefully given, with cross-references. In a new edition these incipits should be numbered, to facilitate reference and to prevent mistakes. There are about 2,500 of them, and Mr. Långfors has shown considerable skill in the handling of his facts so as to avoid repetitions. Occasionally he is too brief (for example, there is no indication that nos. 137 and 2286 are the same poem, viz., *L'orologe de la mort*).

In case the manuscripts have been carefully listed elsewhere, our author has given only the reference: Naetebus, *Histoire Littéraire, Notices et Extraits*, etc. Curiously enough, nowhere is the complete indication given for the commonest references and the work most nearly resembling his own: Gotthold Naetebus, *Die nichtlyrischen Strophenformen des Altfranzösischen*, Leipzig, S. Hirzel, 1891. Naturally, the most serious omissions are to be found in his mention of editions since these are always being added to. For example, under No. 328, *Cele qui m't en sa baillie*, we find only the edition by Hippeau which appeared in 1860, and not that by Miss Williams, brought out in Oxford in 1915 and announced by Champion as soon to reappear in the "Classiques." Another oversight is that in the *Roman du Lys*, "A tres clere des lis de France nee," the edition by F. C. Ostrander, New York, Columbia University Press, 1915, is omitted.

Some minor typographical errors were noted, as follows: page 1, third line from the bottom, 25485 and the same number quoted in the last line, 25405 (I have been unable to see Méon, *Vers de la Mort*); p. 22, at the bottom of the page, "A sdames"; in No. 437, "Comencier vuel un novel lay," the extract by Langlois is practically an edition; p. 114, near the bottom of the page, there is a comma instead of a hyphen after Pem; p. 128, second line, Basieux, read Baisieux; p. 148, No. 917, insert "pt. 2" in Langlois, *Not. et Ext. XXXIII*, p. 249; p. 211, "mure" is found instead of "mule"; p. 243, insert pt. 1 in *Not. et Ext. XXXV*, 156; p. 441, french, read French. It is a question, as it seems to me, if the names of authors should not regularly be printed in the same way, simply for the sake of convenience,—for example, he has now Chrestien de Troyes and now Chretien. Also, what any one searching for something to edit wishes to know is the length of a poem; I find that sometimes in the *Notices et Extraits* the folio numbers from which and to which have not been reproduced by Långfors. These are slight defects amid much that is excellent.

We see then that in these three books we have the bibliography of all the Old French and Provençal poems, except the *chansons de geste*; for the latter, there is a bibliography by Gautier, which extends up to 1890; the present writer hopes this winter to publish another one he has made. It is evident that we are on the eve of a great renaissance of interest and production of the many manuscripts still unprinted of these languages; our American colleagues should do this now and aid their French confrères. "The fields are ripe unto the harvest."

L. HERBERT ALEXANDER

NOTES AND NEWS

There has recently been established in Italy an Istituto per la Propaganda della Cultura Italiana, with headquarters in Rome at 5, Campidoglio. The President of this institution is the Minister of Public Instruction; the Executive Committee is composed of three well-known men, among whom A. F. Formigini is the leading spirit; and the Advisory Board includes such men as Guido Biagi and Benedetto Croce.

Its purposes are to intensify intellectual activity in Italy itself in various ways, and to make that activity known in other countries, in particular by arranging for translations of the most notable current Italian works, and by the diffusion of accurate and interesting bibliographical information.

The organization for the diffusion of this information is a monthly periodical called *l'Italia Che Scrive*. This periodical consists of about twenty pages each month, and contains sketches of modern Italian writers, both in literary and scientific fields; bibliographies of their works; miscellaneous articles of bookish interest; series of short articles dealing with the various Italian universities, academies and other educational institutions; a large number of brief reviews of recent works of all sorts; a series of interesting paragraphs contributed by contemporary authors and dealing with their own plans and experiences; a very complete bibliographical list of all Italian books of the month; news of the activities of the Institute; and a large number of publishers' advertisements. The periodical thus gives a remarkably complete survey of Italian intellectual activity; and it gives it in a very interesting and compact form.—Subscription to this periodical costs only five lire a year. Membership in the Institute costs ten lire a year, and carries with it a free subscription to the periodical.

